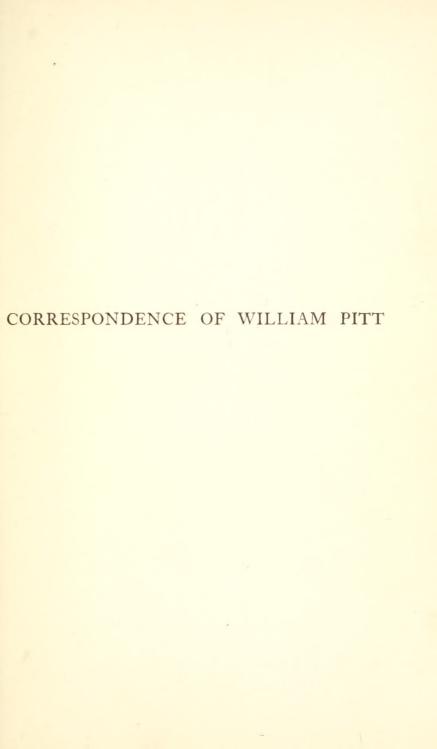


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OF HIS SERVICES TO HIS COUNTRY IN GENERAL

AND TO AMERICA IN PARTITION AR

THE COMMONS HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

UNANIMOUSLY VOTED

THIS STATUE

OF

THE RIGHT HONORABLE WILLIAM PITT ESOR

WHO

GLORIOUSLY EXERTED HIMSELF

IN DEFENDING THE FREEDOM OF AMERICANS

THE TRUE SONS OF ENGLAND

BY PROMOTING A REPEAL

OF THE STAMP ACT

IN THE VEAR ON

TIME

SHALL SOONER DESTROY

THIS MARK OF THEIR ESTEEM

THAN

ERASE FROM THEIR MINDS

THEIR JUST SENSE

OF HIS PATRIOTIC VIRTUES

ERECTED JULY 5th, 1769

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CORRESPONDENCE OF WILLIAM PITT

WHEN SECRETARY OF STATE

WITH COLONIAL GOVERNORS

AND MILITARY AND NAVAL COMMISSIONERS

IN AMERICA

EDITED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF

THE NATIONAL SOCIETY OF THE COLONIAL DAMES
OF AMERICA

BY

GERTRUDE SELWYN KIMBALL

TWO VOLUMES
Vol. I

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FOREWORD

THE Publication Committee, appointed by the President, at the Council of 1904, of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, desires to present the volumes of the correspondence of William Pitt, Lord Chatham, with the Military and Naval Commanders and Colonial Governors of North America to the Society and the world of letters beyond it.

The members of the Committee believe that, in the completion of the work assigned to them, they have not only fulfilled the purposes set forth in the Constitution of this Society, but have, as well, accomplished a project national in scope, original in research, furnishing a collection of material practically unknown in America, only to be found in the inexhaustible stores of the English Archives, embracing, on the whole, a most glorious period of our colonial history.

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The purpose of this collection is to present in chronological order all that is of historical importance in the correspondence of William Pitt with the colonial governors and naval and military commanders, on the continent of North America and in the West Indies, during those years in which

he held the position of secretary of state.

The importance and interest of such a series of letters must be evident to all. They offer to the student of history valuable documentary material which has hitherto been accessible only by resorting to the Public Record Office in London. At the same time they deal with a period of American history which can hardly fail to absorb the attention of the general reader. It is a period of great issues and vivid contrasts, and its lights and shadows are reflected even in the stiff formality of the official despatches of the time.

There are four hundred and ninety-three of these letters printed here, of which sixty-eight have been previously printed. As those letters which have already appeared are, with few exceptions, among the most important of the series, it is felt that the continuity secured by including them

justifies their reappearance in these volumes.

The documents have been copied for the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America from the originals in the Public Record Office in London. Most of them are printed in full. In cases where a letter is of obviously slight importance, or where it is merely a repetition of some preceding document, an abstract of its contents is given. Great care has been taken in such instances that the abstract shall be sufficiently full to enable the student to form an independent opinion as to the desirability of a further

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acquaintance with the original document. For similar reasons to those just stated it has been found desirable to omit portions of the various despatches. Such omissions are, in every instance, indicated by means of asterisks.

A further application of the same standard has led to the omission of certain letters, the contents of which are obviously unimportant. Such are, for example, the official announcements of the death of the Princess Caroline, and of the accession of George III. The list of omitted letters also includes those documents which are merely repetitions of former despatches, or which serve only as a cover for enclosures. One hundred and fourteen letters have been omitted for these reasons, as not of sufficient importance to justify their publication. These omissions occur only in the letters written by the governors and military and naval commanders. With one exception, all communications from Pitt that fall within the scope of these volumes have been printed in full.

Great care has been taken by the copyist to reproduce, in all respects, the text of the original documents. The spelling, punctuation, and the division of the paragraphs

of the letters, are strictly followed.

The letters of Pitt are, it is hardly necessary to say, the official duplicates, preserved by the government, of the despatches sent across the Atlantic. They were usually written by a clerk, in the familiar and legible official hand of the eighteenth century. In most cases they bear Pitt's signature. In instances where the signature is wanting, the fact is stated at the close of the letter. Draughts of letters are specifically designated.

The letters of the other parties to the correspondence are, as before stated, copied from the documents transmitted by them to England. The correspondence printed in the following pages comes from various volumes of the series which in the British Public Record Office is designated

¹ The exception is a letter of Pitt to Amherst, of July 17, 1761, which is a repetition of the last part of the letter of June 18, 1761. The latter document is printed here.

as "Colonial Papers, America and West Indies," and from two bundles of the Chatham (Pringle) MSS. in the same repository.

The editor takes pleasure in expressing the indebtedness of all concerned in the publication of these volumes, as well as that of the wider public who, it is hoped, will find them useful, to the copyist, Miss Ethel M. Lomas, of London.

Miss Lomas's services have not been limited to the copying. She has made the various abstracts of letters which are printed in this collection, and deserves great credit for the judgment and ability with which this part of the work has been done.

The documents are concerned primarily with military operations, and with such topics as would naturally be incidental to the progress of a series of campaigns. But not even the formalities of official intercourse avail to hide the individuality of the writers. The letters of Abercromby, Forbes, Amherst, and Wolfe must have afforded opportunity for discriminating contrast to the Great Commoner, who selected his officers without fear or favor, and who played upon the pipe of public opinion with a skill that enabled him to defy tradition and nullify parliamentary precedent.

One hundred and twenty-seven of these letters were written by Pitt, who, as secretary of state, directed not only the foreign policy of England, but also the administration of her army and navy down to the minutest details of

equipment.

Of those remaining, one hundred and seventy were written by the different colonial governors who were not military commanders, and one hundred and ninety-six by military and naval officers. Under this last head are included those governors whose position may be described as primarily military. Such are Governors Whitmore of Louisburg, and Dalrymple of Guadeloupe.

An especially interesting portion of the correspondence is that relating to the various West Indian campaigns of the

years 1759-1761.

During the fifteen years which preceded the Seven Years' War the most important question before English diplomatists and politicians was the rivalry between England and Spain for the commerce of the New World. This rivalry led to encroachments and reprisals, and these, in turn, to war. It was his eloquent speeches against the Spanish domination on the high seas that won for Pitt his reputation in Parliament. Yet those who praised the rising speaker were far from appreciating the actual justification for his opposition to Walpole and a peace policy. Even at that early period the born statesman felt that instinctive fear of the Bourbon coalition which gives the keynote of his career. It was Spain and France that he fought against, on the field and in the cabinet - never Spain alone, nor France alone. To the statesman of all centuries the question of war measures is, in the last resort, a question of comparative resources. To the statesman of the eighteenth century this last form of the problem meant the extension of his country's trade. Commercial development, in an era when free-trade was a thing unknown, necessitated the possession of colonies. The colony not only provided a market, of which the home-merchant enjoyed a monopoly; it extended protection as well as hospitality to the useful intermediary of demand and supply, and made possible a sure and safe connection between buyer and seller. Until late into the century, the colony was but the factory of the merchantadventurer, in the eyes of both Parliament and the public.

A struggle for the colonial markets of the world meant that the battlefields would be found in India and America, and the great waterways which lie between them and Europe. Pitt saw this clearly. England's rivals in colonial possessions, as in the colonial trade, were the Bourbon

monarchies - France and Spain.

It was the aim of her great statesman to make her superior to any combination of these powers. In his early career he endeavored to foster the opposition in England against Spain. At a later time it was his policy to induce Spain, by lavish offers of treaty and trading privileges, to observe

a neutrality in the West Indies while he was dealing with her

Bourbon ally, France.1

The French and Spanish wars of the 40's were brought to a close by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748. All conquests were restored to their former owners, and the question of commercial supremacy rested exactly where it had been at the opening of hostilities. It was not until six years later that the struggle for the American continent began in the valley of the Ohio. In that same year Dupleix was recalled in disgrace from the empire he had won for France in India.

The claims of France and England to America, and the futility of any attempt to reconcile those claims, are alike familiar to all. It was as impossible to restrict the English colonists to the Atlantic seaboard as it would have been to shut up the French within the limits of the present prov-

ince of Quebec.

The strategical advantages in the impending contest were certainly on the side of the French. They controlled the great rivers and lakes. The St. Lawrence gave them a magnificent harbor in the north, to which the famous citadel of Louisburg stood as advance-guard. In the south, France not only held important islands in the West Indies, she also controlled the Mobile and Mississippi rivers. A campaign against this many-sided adversary would seem to have called for the dash and concentrated energy of a Napoleon, who should destroy his enemy piecemeal by a series of sudden and unlooked-for onslaughts. This was, indeed, the English idea. In pursuance thereof, in 1755, Braddock was sent against Fort Du Quesne, on the Ohio; Shirley was directed to capture Niagara; William Johnson was to attack Crown Point, and Monckton was sent into Acadia, to take possession of Fort Beausejour and to reduce the peninsula to obedience. Braddock failed altogether. Johnson did not reach Crown Point, but made a gallant defence at Fort Lyman (the later Fort Edward), and held back the

¹ See Green, Life of William Pitt, chap. II.

French advance in the valley of the Hudson. His services were rated rather above than below their real value, since Parliament voted him £5000, and the king made him a baronet. Shirley, whose strategical ability was of no mean order, found himself unable to cope with the practical difficulties of transportation and commissariat. He reached the English post at Oswego and reënforced the garrison, but did not dare to proceed against Niagara, since across the lake at Frontenac lay a French force equal to his own, and only awaiting the moment of his departure from Oswego to make a descent upon the fort. Shirley went back to Albany when the season closed, intending to renew his at-

tempt in the following spring.

The results of the campaign were more far-reaching than might have been anticipated. From his headquarters at Fort Du Quesne the French commander, Dumas, urged on the Indians of the south and west to attack and devastate the English frontier settlements. Parkman quotes him as reporting to the home authorities, in the July of 1756, that he had ruined Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, driven off the inhabitants and totally destroyed the settlements over a tract of country thirty leagues wide, reckoning from the line of Fort Cumberland. Braddock's road became a highway for the invading swarms of bloodthirsty savages. In New York the situation was almost equally discouraging. The valley of the Hudson was terrorized by the French posts at Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Another stronghold, further north, was Fort Présentation, at the point where the Oswegatchie river enters the St. Lawrence, the site of the modern town of Ogdensburg. From Présentation an Indian trail led into central New York, striking the Mohawk valley near the Great Carrying Place, which divides that river from Wood's Creek. To secure the Carrying Place the English had built two small posts, Fort Williams on the Mohawk, and Fort Bull, four miles distant, on Wood's Creek. In March, 1756, a detach-

¹ Montcalm and Wolfe, I. 329.

ment of some three hundred Canadians and Indians captured Fort Bull, after an heroic defence on the part of the garrison of thirty provincials. A scarcity of provisions had made itself felt at Oswego even as early as the campaign of the previous year, and during the winter months Shirley had collected at the forts on the Carrying Place large supplies of military stores and ammunition for the use of that garrison. These all fell into the hands of the French. The blow not only delayed the English advance, but secured for the French sufficient time to strengthen their posts at

Niagara and Frontenac, on Lake Ontario.

In May, 1756, England declared war. earlier Shirley had laid his plans for the summer's work. He called on the provinces for men and money to enable him to drive the French from their posts on Lake Ontario, and to attack at the same time Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and Fort Du Quesne, while a diversion of the enemy's strength should be effected by sending an invading force into the province of Quebec through the Chaudière route, from Maine. The difficulty of raising troops and money forced the abandonment of the Fort Du Quesne expedition, and likewise the project of invading Quebec. An army was set on foot to proceed against Crown Point, and Shirley himself determined to lead the expedition against Lake Ontario. Whatever chance of success he may have had in the beginning was hopelessly neutralized by the action of the War Office. A New York cabal succeeded in obtaining Shirley's removal from the command, and the ministry were strangely slow in appointing his successor. At length they decided to send Colonel Daniel Webb to America to hold the command until the arrival of General Abercromby. Abercromby was to act pending the appearance of Lord Loudoun, who was, eventually, to be commander-in-chief. Webb and Abercromby reached America in June; Loudoun, in July. Meanwhile the entire campaign was in abeyance, although Shirley, in the absence of other plans, continued the preparations for his own. He rebuilt Fort Bull, and collected stores and provisions along the route to Oswego. In May

a force of eleven hundred French was sent from Canada to harass Oswego, and, if possible, to cut off the garrison from its communications. The difficulty of provisioning the post was thus greatly increased. Major Craven of Pepperell's regiment was stationed at Fort Williams, on the Carrying Place, in the spring and summer of 1756. Two years later, in London, he sent to Pitt an account of the vexatious delays encountered during those anxious weeks when every moment was precious. For, "On the 17th August," says Craven, "I received the following Note from the Commanding Officer at Fort Wood Creek [i.e. Fort Bull]. 'Sir. Oswego's taken and all the Officers and Men made Prisoners, Col. Mercer is killed. I have it frome one of your Regiment who made his Escape, Signed John Parker."

Webb, who had arrived at Albany in the latter part of June, had been ordered on August 12 to reënforce Oswego with the 44th regiment and a detachment of boatmen. The men had been waiting a month for their marching-orders, which came just too late. Webb had reached the Carrying Place when the news of the capture of Oswego met him. He was seized with panic, burned the forts, had trees thrown into Wood's Creek in order to delay the enemy's advance, and without a moment's hesitation, made the best of his way down the Mohawk to the settlement of German Flats, fifty miles distant. Panic spread throughout the colonies. Loudoun ordered the troops on Lake George, who were about to move against Ticonderoga, to be held in readiness to protect New York, and demanded additional troops from the colonial governors. The French withdrew to Ticonderoga, and went into winter-quarters.

The loss of Oswego was not the only disaster which befell the English arms in 1756. Calcutta was captured by Surajah Dowlah, and its capitulation was followed by the terrible tragedy of the Black Hole. In the Mediterranean, the island of Minorca was taken by the French. On the continent, England's only ally was Frederic of Prussia,

and notwithstanding the well-deserved reputation of his army and its leader, it seemed almost inconceivable that the little kingdom of Prussia could face the triple coalition of

France, Russia, and Austria.

This was the military situation when William Pitt was made secretary of state, in December, 1756. In the American colonies the conditions were hardly such as to encourage hopes of future success. Concerted action had proved difficult, and in some cases, impossible. The colonial governments were dilatory, lacking in public spirit, jealously tenacious of their privileges. Their troops were undisciplined, were enlisted but for short periods, and came to the rendezvous ill-equipped, when they came equipped at all. In the case of Maryland and Pennsylvania, quarrels between the governor (as representative of the proprietary interest) and the assembly stopped all supplies, of men or money. Throughout the war, the letters of the governors of those colonies are filled with accounts of the obstacles encountered in that especial respect. Such a condition of affairs called forth and fostered a sense of powerlessness in the colonies themselves. A year after the fall of Oswego William Livingston of New Jersey wrote: "Our assemblies are diffident of their governors, governors despise their assemblies; and both mutually misrepresent each other to the Court of Great Britain." And at the court of Great Britain the era of official precedent and aristocratic patronage continued to hold sway during the campaign of 1757.

That Pitt should have awakened the national spirit and introduced fundamental reforms into the administration of the army of his country is perhaps a sufficiently notable record for the four months which comprised his first term of office. Under his direction vigorous preparations were made for the campaign of 1757. An increase of more than a million pounds was made in the supplies. Fifty-five thousand men were voted for the navy, and forty-five thousand for the army. A Militia Act was passed which pro-

¹ Quoted in Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe, I. 419.

vided for the training of thirty-two thousand, three hundred and forty men. Perhaps the most noteworthy of Pitt's measures was the enrolling of the Highland regiments. The clans that had so long proved a menace to their neighbors and a perplexity to the government, were enlisted for the American service, in regiments under the command of their hereditary chiefs. No better soldiers have ever fought England's battles. The force to be sent to America was augmented,¹ and of this, one battalion was ordered to the southern provinces, "to be employed as the Exigency shall require." A fleet under Admiral Holburne was despatched to Halifax.

The plan of campaign was for Loudoun to assemble all the provincial troops possible and as many regulars as could safely be spared, at Halifax, and to invest Louisburg with all despatch. This was Loudoun's suggestion, and in making this he was doubtless influenced by a desire to proceed against the French in some quarter not advocated by his predecessor, the unfortunate Shirley. Pitt accepted the suggestion. He was, however, hampered by the opposition in Parliament. In April his resignation was forced, and in the contest for office which followed, the war measures received but a scant share of government attention.

Early in the season three French squadrons were sent across the Atlantic. Holburne's fleet was unable to put to sea before May 5, and it did not reach Halifax until July 10. Loudoun left Webb in command on Lake George,³ and departed for Halifax on June 20, in company with Sir Charles Hardy, the governor of New York.

The remainder of Loudoun's campaign was characterized by a "masterly inactivity." After nearly a month spent in consultation, at Halifax, it was ascertained that the French fleet and garrison so far outnumbered the English forces

¹ See Pitt's letter to Governor Lawrence, of February 4, 1757; also Loudoun to Pitt, March 10, 1757.

² Pitt to Governors of Southern Colonies, February 4, 1757; and to Colonel Montgomery, March 31, 1757.

³ See Loudoun's letter of March 10, 1757.

that any hope of taking Louisburg by assault must be abandoned. Loudoun accordingly returned to New York. Holburne remained, to try in vain to draw the French fleet into an engagement outside the harbor. A terrible storm on September 24 disabled many of his fleet and hastened his return to England.¹

But if Loudoun's expedition had proved barren of results in Canada he found a sorry harvest waiting for him upon his return to New York. The heavy requisitions of troops for the Louisburg expedition had left the colonial frontier practically unguarded. Montcalm was not the man to lose the opportunity thus afforded him of concentrating all his force upon the British posts in the valley of the Hudson. At Ticonderoga and Crown Point were the French forts known respectively as Carillon and Fort Frédéric. South of Ticonderoga the first post was the English Fort William Henry, at the head of Lake George. Here, there was a garrison of twenty-two hundred men, under Colonel Monro of the 35th regiment. Some dozen miles to the east of Fort William Henry was Fort Edward, at the Hudson river end of the carry which separated the waters of that river from those of Lake George. Here a garrison of thirty-six hundred men was stationed under the command of Colonel Webb.

Well-authenticated reports of a French invasion reached Webb several days before Fort William Henry was invested. He sent up a reënforcement of one thousand men to Monro. On the morning of August 3 he received word that the French were bearing down upon the fort. The next morning a message came that Monro was actually besieged by a force vastly superior to his own. Thereupon Webb despatched messengers into New England, some two hundred miles' distance, to ask for help. Twenty-four hours later a detachment of the French army was encamped upon the carry between Fort Edward and Fort William Henry, and Monro's communications were cut. The five days' siege and defence of the fort, the capitulation, and the ensuing

¹ See letters of September 29, October 13 and 15, 1757.

tragedy, when men, women, and children were butchered in cold blood by Montcalm's Indian allies, while the French troops looked on passively, are facts too well known to

require description.

Webb's inaction has called forth almost unanimous censure. Probably there has been a predisposition to accuse him of cowardice because of his precipitate retreat down the Mohawk valley at the time of the capture of Oswego. It is certain that the small force at his disposal could have made little impression upon the French army of three times that number. Even Webb's and Monro's garrisons together amounted to but six thousand effective men, if we assume that no reserves were left at Fort Edward, while Montcalm had with him an army of between eleven and twelve thousand. Should Webb attack Montcalm and suffer a defeat, nothing stood between the French and Albany. Webb was not a man of resource, nor of foresight. He had totally failed to appreciate the significance of the unprotected condition of the New York frontier, consequent upon the withdrawal of the troops for Louisburg. Nor did he appreciate his antagonist. Montcalm was not the man to overlook such an opportunity as was here presented him. Rumors of a French invasion had reached Webb long before the attack was made. On July 29 he wrote to the governor of New York, urging him to send up the militia, and assuring him that there was no doubt that the French were coming. Two days later he sent off his messengers to the New England colonies.

Governor Pownall of Massachusetts wrote to Pitt on August 16: "On August 6th a letter . . . from Gen! Webb (dated Fort Edward distant 260 miles. July 31.) came to my hands acquainting me that he expected to be attacked by a large body of the Enemy who were advancing towards him." Pownall at once sent the three western regiments to the frontier, started a fourth, and called out the entire militia of the province. But if an especial messenger required a week to cover the ground, it was plainly impossible for reënforcements from New England to reach Webb in

much less than two weeks. Pownall says,1 "It being the 6th. of this month before I reciev'd any account of the Advance of the Enemy, and the 7th before I had any account of Fort W^m Henry's being invested, and the 8th before the Troops could receive orders to muster and march, and then having some of them 200 miles to go, I hope it will not be imputed to any delay in the Troops of this Province, that they have not reach'd Fort Edward on the 9th Instant the day that Fort Wm Henry was surrendered."

Montcalm had hoped to capture Fort Edward, and thus deprive the English of their last foothold upon the lakes. This, however, he found himself unable to undertake. His Indians went off in a body, loaded with booty and prisoners.

The Canadian militia had been levied with the understanding that they should return home for the harvest, and this they insisted upon. Montcalm burned what was left of the fort, and withdrew to Ticonderoga. Webb breathed freely once more, and ordered home the reënforcements of militia which had joined him.

The list of the campaign's misfortunes was not yet closed. Early in November a force of Canadians and Indians, whose numbers Pownall reports as "supposed about 800,"2 raided the settlement of German Flats on the Mohawk River. Forty or fifty people were killed and about two

hundred prisoners were carried off.

In England, however, the tide had already turned. Pitt had been restored to office in June, with practically unlimited powers of action. He spent the winter of 1757-1758 in organizing the machinery of war. Loudoun, whose incapacity was only equalled by his want of tact, was recalled. He was succeeded by Abercromby. This was far from an ideal appointment, and Pitt realized the fact. It proved impossible, for political reasons, to pass over Abercromby, as next in rank, and Pitt hoped much from Lord Howe, who was made second in command.

¹ See letter of August 16, cited above.

² See letters of November 26, 1757, and February 14, 1758, for an account of this affair.

Loudoun's withdrawal can hardly have been lamented in America. Since his arrival he had been out of touch with the colonists, and even on terms of open disagreement. His demand for quarters for his troops — not unreasonable in itself — was peremptorily made, and enforced by threats. Pownall, in his letter of December 1, 1757, gives an interesting account of his own experience as governor in handling the matter, and of the colonial point of view on this especial question. Loudoun's characteristic version of the affair is

given in his letter of March 10, 1757.

Another source of annoyance to the colonies was the embargo laid upon all shipping at the time when preparations for the Louisburg expedition were going forward. It was generally felt that the embargo was needlessly prolonged. Dinwiddie writes, on May 14, 1757, that he had heard from Loudoun that no more ships nor sailors were needed, and he continues: "Our people were very uneasy at the long Continuency of the Embargo, - I consulted with the Council thereon, and they were unanimous in Opinion that it was absolutely necessary to take it off, which I, after many Perswasions and Petitions from the Trade, did venture to take it off, and I hope, for the above Reasons this Step will meet with Approbation." It met with intense indignation from Loudoun, who considered himself flouted in his own province, since he himself held the title of governor of Virginia, and Dinwiddie was his acting representative.1

Pitt's plans for the campaign of 1758 have been already alluded to. They were as various as were the issues at stake. The possibility of a French invasion of England was far from being fanciful. Four fleets were sent out, either to meet this danger or to avert it. One squadron was to watch the west coast of France; one was stationed in the Mediterranean; one was sent to the West Indies to harass the French island colonies; and one was sent to the East Indies, where England had unwittingly gained an empire through Clive's victories of the past year. Preparations were also

made for a series of attacks on the French ports on the Channel. This last plan was primarily intended to provide occu-

pation for the French troops at home.

Beset as she was on every side, France nevertheless had powerful allies, and was possessed of wonderful resources within herself. But her resources of men, talent, and wealth were alike rendered useless by the corruption with which every department of her public service was riddled. Supplies sent to Canada were sold to the colonial government at an enormous advance, the profit going into the pockets of the intermediary officials. Soldiers were unpaid and halffed. The colony was overtaxed, and yet the taxes brought little into the treasury. With one or two notable exceptions, every official in the public pay, whether he were of high or low degree, was busily engaged in amassing for himself a fortune, at his country's expense. Even Montcalm's genius and devotion could not cope successfully with foes within and foes without.

Pitt's plans for the American campaign are best given in his own stirring words: 1 "to repair the Losses and Disappointments, of the last inactive, and unhappy Campaign; and by the most vigorous and extensive Efforts, to avert . . . the Dangers impending in North America." He calls upon "the several Provinces, . . . more immediately obnoxious to the main Irruptions of the Enemy from Canada . . . to furnish, at least, Twenty Thousand Men, to join a Body of The King's Forces for Invading Canada, by the Way of Crown Point . . . and if found practicable, to attack either Montreal or Quebec." He promises that the Crown shall furnish arms, ammunition, tents, and an artillery-train, and that Parliament shall be asked to vote a compensation for expenses incurred by the colonies, "according as the active Vigour and strenuous Efforts of the respective Provinces shall justly appear to merit." The instructions to Abercromby, to whom was intrusted the execution of the Crown

¹ See letter of December 30, 1757, to Governors of Northern Colonies in America.

Point campaign, state further, that "upwards of Fourteen Thousand men" are to be sent from England "for the Siege of Louisburg, to be begun as early in the Year as the Twentieth of April, if the Season shall happen to permit, under the Direction of an Officer, to be appointed . . . for the Command of that Operation." The officer thus designated was Colonel Jeffrey Amherst, who was promoted to be major-general, and put in command of the expedition. To support Amherst's operations against Louisburg, Pitt sent out a fleet of twenty-three ships of the line and eighteen frigates, under Boscawen.

A third operation of the campaign was to be an expedition against Fort Du Quesne, under the command of Colonel John Forbes, who was promoted to be brigadier-general in

America.

Nor does Pitt content himself with laying down the general course of procedure to be observed. He gives Abercromby specific directions respecting the various details of the expeditions. He enumerates the detachments of rangers that will be needed; directs the collection of boats and batteaux for transporting troops over Lake George and Lake Champlain; and also the taking up transports for Halifax. He appoints Brigadier Stanwix to guard the New York frontier during Abercromby's absence, and ends by stating how many carpenters will be required for the Louisburg expedition, and directing that "Meserve a Gentleman of New Hampshire," who had charge of that branch of the service the preceding year, shall be reëngaged.²

Boscawen reached Halifax on May 9, and reported the arrival of the levies from New England and Philadelphia, as well as that of the regulars. The troops from New York

were hourly expected.3

Amherst was delayed by fogs and contrary winds so that it was May 28 before he reached Halifax, where, he says, "I had the good fortune of meeting Admiral Boscawen with

² See letter last cited.

¹ See letter to Abercromby, of December 30, 1757.

³ See letter of May 10, 1758.

the Fleet and the Troops coming out of the Harbour." 1 Amherst's despatches of June 11, 23, July 6, 23, and 27, 1758, are practically a journal of the siege of Louisburg, in which every minute detail of action is entered day by day with military precision. The contrast with Loudoun's rambling letters is thoroughly characteristic of the difference between the men.

One of the most interesting topics touched upon in these despatches of Amherst is the account which they contain of the conspicuous part taken by Wolfe in the conduct of the siege. Wolfe was one of Amherst's three brigadiers. After the reduction of the fortress Amherst sent him up the St. Lawrence to devastate the country, and deport the inhabitants, should that prove possible. The expedition served the twofold purpose of destroying property and obtaining information respecting the resources of the enemy. Wolfe's report of his experiences is given in his letter to Pitt of November 1, 1758.

The garrison and the seamen of the French fleet at Louisburg were sent to England as prisoners of war.² Amherst left three regiments in garrison at Louisburg, with Brigadier Whitmore as governor, and on August 28 went on board ship for Boston, taking with him six battalions to reënforce Abercromby. On July 31 the news of Abercromby's defeat

at Ticonderoga had reached Louisburg.3

In his lack of initiative, and in his remarkable capacity for exhausting the details of a subject while omitting its essential point, Abercromby showed himself an apt pupil of his former chief, Lord Loudoun. The first page of his first despatch, of March 16, 1758, may fairly be taken as indicative of his career in America. "Sir, As I have already had the honor, by my separate Letter of this day, to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 30th of December, by Captain Loring, I am also now to acquaint you with the receipt of your 2nd Letter, of the same day, containing directions from His Majesty,

¹ See letter of June 11, 1758.

³ See Amherst's letter of August 10, 1758.

² See Boscawen's letters of August 12 and 14, 1758.

for my conduct in the high and important Command He has

been graciously pleased to honor me with.

"As I have nothing so much at heart, as to comply therewith to the utmost extent of my Power & Abilities, I think I cannot any longer postpone acquainting you, with the small progress I have hitherto been able to make in them; first from Lord Loudoun's absence, who is not yet returned from Boston; and next, because I do not think I ought any longer to detain the Packet, lest you might be uneasy at the uncertainty of their having reached me."

On April 28 Abercromby writes that the provincial levies will reach a total of 17,480 men, "which is 2,520 less than was hoped wou'd . . . have been ready to join in the present important Service, His Majesty has commanded me to undertake, in case it should be found practicable." He then dilates (and no doubt with reason) upon the disposition of the

colonies to charge all items of expense to the Crown.

Abercromby reached Albany on May 11. Lord Howe was already forwarding provisions and stores up the Hudson with all possible despatch, but the water was high and progress was slow. "We have," says Abercromby, "at the highest Water, three Portages between Fort Edward & this [Albany]; whereof one, is at Times six Miles in length, but now less than three, . . . the next is upwards of two Miles above Saratoga, and the last Five Miles higher." 1 The road from Fort Edward to Lake George, fourteen miles in length, was badly out of repair. On June 9, Abercromby reached Fort Edward, where Lord Howe was already encamped with three regiments of regular troops and four companies of rangers. The next move was to establish a camp on Lake George. This was successfully accomplished. A stockaded post was built on the site of Fort William Henry, and another on the spot where Monro's intrenched camp had On June 8, information was obtained from French deserters that reënforcements were arriving at Ticonderoga. Rogers, the famous bush-fighter, confirmed the report.

He had seen three regiments and one hundred batteaux coming up the lake, "as well as a good Number of Men lying

on the Banks, just disembarked." 1

On July 5 the English army went on board the transports, and in the early morning of the sixth the Landing Place, at the foot of Lake George, was reached. The French advance-guard stationed at this point deserted their camp, and retreated to the fort at Ticonderoga. An attempt was then made to march the English forces through the forest on the west of the river connecting the two lakes. The direct route would have been to cross the river near the Landing Place, and to follow the portage-path to that point where it again crosses the river. At this second crossing the French had put up a sawmill (which figures in Amherst's letters of a later date). The portage-path was a well-known route, and avoided the rapids in the river, which makes a wide bend to the northwest.2 The French had destroyed the bridge at the first crossing. To build a new bridge meant a delay, and, too, Abercromby feared an ambushed attack on the narrow portage. His decision in respect to the route chosen derives its interest from the fact that it cost him the animating spirit of his campaign, Lord Howe.

A detachment of French and Indians, who were as uncertain of their own whereabouts as were the English, stumbled upon the advance-column with Lord Howe at its head. Shots were exchanged, and Lord Howe was instantly killed: "the first Man that fell in this Skirmish," writes Abercromby, "and as he was very deservedly, universally beloved and respected throughout the whole Army, it is Easy to conceive the Grief and Consternation his untimely fall occasioned; For my part, I cannot help owning that I felt it most heavily,

and lament him as sincerely." 3

Nightfall found Abercromby's detachment still unable to extricate themselves from the forest. They spent the night under arms, and in the morning returned to the Landing

¹ See letter of June 29, 1758.

⁸ See letter of July 12, 1758.

² See map in Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe, II. 94.

Place, where they found the remainder of the army. Bradstreet (the future conqueror of Frontenac) was sent to take possession of the sawmill. This he did, and rebuilt the bridge. The army advanced and encamped for the night there. On the morning of July 8 Abercromby's engineer reconnoitred the works at the fort, and pronounced it pos-

sible to carry them by assault.

The character of those works was this: Montcalm had erected a breastwork of logs eight or nine feet high, which zigzagged across the ridge of high ground before his fort. Just before this breastwork the ground fell rapidly away, and this declivity was covered for a considerable distance with fallen trees, with the tops turned outward. Immediately in front of the breastwork the ground was filled with a network of heavy boughs, which must have strongly resembled a modern barbed-wire abattis. Such a structure was, of course, useless as a protection against artillery, but it was an admirable defence against infantry.

"After several repeated Attacks which lasted upwards of four Hours, under the most disadvantageous Circumstances, and with the Loss of 1610 Regulars 334 Provincials killed & wounded . . . I retired to the Camp we occupied the night before." Such is Abercromby's account of the disaster. Why Abercromby did not bring up his artillery and demolish Montcalm's defences at his leisure is the question which has remained unanswered from that day to this. He tells Pitt that the artillery was embarked with the troops, and used to cover the landing.² But it was used for nothing

else.

Abercromby went back to the head of Lake George, and devoted his energies to reënforcing Stanwix against a possible invasion of the French, by way of the Mohawk valley, to Albany.

Bradstreet, however, "remained of Opinion that it was still practicable to succeed in his Plan against Cadaraqui³

² Ibid.

¹ See letter of July 12, 1758.

³ Fort Frontenac, commanding the outlet of Lake Ontario.

. . . I have given him the Command of 3600 . . . to proceed with them against that Fort," writes Abercromby.¹ With small encouragement from his senior officer, Bradstreet set out. He pushed his way up the Mohawk, and on August 22 embarked his little flotilla upon Lake Ontario. Four days later he invested Fort Frontenac. The garrison was small, numbering but one hundred and ten men, laborers included. The commander was completely surprised. Resistance was out of the question. He and his detachment became prisoners of war. Bradstreet destroyed the fort and burned the French fleet of nine armed vessels. From this moment the fall of Fort Du Quesne was assured. The source of supply was cut off, and at the first appearance of a hostile army the key to the Ohio valley must be given up.

Let us turn now to trace the line of Forbes's advance through Pennsylvania. Abercromby asked the provinces of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia to furnish six thousand men for the expedition. A levy of two thousand seven hundred men was promptly voted by Pennsylvania,² "of which," says Abercromby, "Governor Denny gave me immediate Notice, but observed at the same time, that unless they passed a Supply Bill, His Hands were as much tied as if they had made no Resolves at all; the Truth of which we have Experienced; for, from that Time, till the 22nd Inst [April], when they passed a Bill, granting £100,000. to His Majesty's Use, nothing has been done; this Delay was occasion'd thro' the unhappy Disputes, that have so long subsisted, between the Proprietaries & the Assembly of that Province." The three "Lower Counties" voted three hundred men and a supply of £8000.

Forbes writes from Philadelphia, on May 1, "They have just now begun to raise their Men by naming their Officers &c."... everything except fresh Disputes which arise every day, goes on very slowly." 4 Similar conditions in

¹ See letter last cited.

² See Denny's letter of March 25, 1758.

³ See Abercromby's letter of April 28, 1758.

⁴ See letter of that date.

Maryland resulted in the withholding all supplies, whether of men or money. The assembly went so far as to demand the withdrawal of the little garrison of three hundred from the frontier post of Fort Cumberland, on Wills Creek, "by which," says Forbes, "that back Country must have fallen into the Enemy's Hands." ¹ Three weeks later, on May 19, he writes, "The Maryland Assembly have as yet come to no determination, and are in the same situation . . . but from some quickening letters that I have lately wrote to that Province I flatter myself they will at least keep the 300 Men now on their pay for this Season and more I scarcely can expect." A month later he was forced to report that "The Maryland Assembly broke up without providing any one thing for the present Service, or for the pay! & maintenance of their troops in Fort Cumberland." ² Virginia voted two thousand men, but Forbes had grave doubts of her ability to raise twelve hundred. He concludes his summary by saying, "There is nothing expected of the Carolinas." ³

The regular troops allotted him were thirteen hundred Highlanders and four hundred of the Royal Americans. The greater part of these were yet to arrive. The Indians of the southwest had been successfully approached by the agents of Virginia and South Carolina, and were already coming in to the rendezvous at Winchester, in Virginia. "Their Numbers already come, are Six hundred and fifty two," Forbes reported in the letter just cited, "and several more are expected. . . . I have now scouting Partys to the Amount of four hundred of them . . . who are gone upon the Ohio, above and below Fort Du Quesne . . . as our greatest Dependance is upon them, and they capable of being led away upon any Caprice or Whime that seizes them, I am obliged by every Artifice to amuse them from returning home, they being rather offended at not seeing our Army and Artillery assembled." They were dangerous allies,

3 See letter of May 1, 1758.

¹ See letter last cited, and Sharpe's, of October 27, 1757.

² See letters of May 19 and June 17, 1758.

as the event was to show.¹ Forbes estimates the expense of their equipment at £8000. Three weeks later they were beginning to desert him. At that date (May 19) Forbes had collected "on the back Frontiers . . . three Months Provisions for 6000 Men," and was "just entering into a Contract for a sufficient number of Waggons and Packhorses for the transportation of it from one deposite to another." ²

It was June 11, however, before the arrival of the storeship and artillery made it possible to set out for the frontier with

the regular troops.

On June 17 Forbes wrote to Pitt 3 respecting the nature of his "offensive Operations," which, he says, "are clogged with many Difficulties, owing to the great distance & badness of the roads, through an almost impenetrable wood, uninhabited for more than 200 miles. . . . I am therefore under the Necessity of having a stockaded Camp, with a Blockhouse & cover for our Provisions, at every forty Miles distance." The Cherokees were already leaving him, "owing to their natural fickle disposition which is not to be got the better off by fair words nor presents, of both which they have had a great deal, . . . so if the seeing of our Cannon and their Cousins the Highlanders has no Effect upon their stay with us, we shall lose the best part of our Strength as all the Northern Indians mostly our Enemies were kept in awe by the presence of so many Cherokees." 4

By July 10 the army had reached Carlisle, the frontier settlement of Pennsylvania, one hundred and twenty miles west of Philadelphia. The next stage was Raystown, now Bedford, one hundred miles further west, where "1500 of the Provincialls" were building storehouses and a stockade. "For in Raestown there is not one single house, The place having its name from one Rae, who designed to have made a plantation there several years ago, nor indeed is there

¹ For an account of the "Cherokee War," and its causes, see letters of February 16, April 28, June 25, July 21, 1760.

² See letter of that date.
⁸ See letter of that date.

⁴ See letter of July 10, 1758.

either Inhabitants or houses from this to the Ohio . . . the whole being an immense Forest of 240 miles of Extent, . . . impenetrable almost to anything humane save the Indians, (if they be allowed the Appellation) who have footpaths,

. . . by the help of which, we make our roads." 1

The question of road-making was one which had occupied a considerable share of Forbes's attention since his arrival in Pennsylvania. It was expected (and naturally) that Forbes would rendezvous his troops farther south, at Winchester, in Virginia, that he would march to Fort Cumberland, and thence to the Ohio by Braddock's old road. This was, at first, his own view, and he therefore selected Conococheague (Williamsport, Md.) as his base of supplies. The alternative was to concentrate his supplies at Raystown and cut a new road across country to Fort Du Quesne. His own account of the situation is given in his letter of July 10: "I am in hopes of finding a better way over the Alleganey Mountains, than that from Fort Cumberland which Gen! Braddock took, If so I shall shorten both my March, and my labour of cutting the road about 40 miles, which is a great consideration. For were I to pursue M! Braddock's route, I should save but little labour, as that road is now a brushwood by the sprouts from the old stumps, which must be cut down and made proper for Carriages, as well as any other Passage that we must attempt."

On September 6 he reports his advanced post of fifteen hundred men to be within forty miles of Fort Du Quesne, "nor have the Enemy ever suspected my attempting such a road till very lately, they having been all along securing the strong passes and fords of the rivers, upon General Braddock's route." Further on, he complains bitterly of "the villiany of the Inhabitants in furnishing their worst Horses at so critical a juncture," whereby it is impossible for him to keep up his provision-train, and states that, although he has applied for help to the governor and assembly "in very strong Terms, . . . sad experience makes me dread that their

dilatory measures and contrary factions, will . . . throw the little Army . . . into very great distress." His experience with the Pennsylvania levies was hardly more satisfactory. He says, "I vainly at the beginning flattered myself that some very good Service might be drawn from the Virginia & Pennsylvania Forces, but am sorry to find that a few of their principle Officers excepted, all the rest are an extream bad Collection of broken Innkeepers, Horse Jockeys, & Indian traders, and that the Men under them, are a direct Copy of their Officers, nor can it well be otherwise, as they are a gathering from the scum of the worst of people, in every Country, who have wrought themselves up, into a panick at the very name of Indians who at the same time are more infamous cowards, than any other race of mankind."

Other levies made a better impression, for on October 20 he writes, "to do justice I must commend the spirit of some of the provincialls, particularly the Maryland troops, who I retained in the Service, after being left to disband by their Province." He found himself obliged to supply them with food and clothing, as they had "but one bad blanket each, which will not do in these cold evenings and mornings, no

shoes stockings or Breeches."

Progress was necessarily slow in that wild country, which Forbes describes as an "immense uninhabited Wilderness, overgrown everywhere with trees and underbrush, so that no where can anyone see twenty yards." If the army moved slowly, the provision-train lagged ever far behind, and to the inevitable delays was added the discomfort of an unusually cold and rainy autumn. Forbes was brought to the point of contemplating the necessity of going into winter-quarters before he should be able to reach Du Quesne. It was not until November 26 that the goal was reached. On the twenty-fifth, the French set fire to the magazine and abandoned the fort, retiring to their western posts, Venango and Presqu'isle. Forbes, writing on November 27, dates his letter "Pittsbourgh," as, he says, "I hope it was in some measure the being actuated by your spirits that now makes us Masters

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of the place." The fort was repaired, and a garrison of two hundred provincials under Colonel Mercer was left there for the winter.

Forbes, whose health had been such that he was carried in a litter between two horses for the greater part of the march, was utterly prostrated after reaching Fort Du Quesne. For two months he was unable to write, or to dictate, a letter. He was carried back to Philadelphia, where he died in the following March, before the desired permission to return home had reached him. Pitt's letter of congratulation and commendation shows his appreciation of the importance of the service rendered by this persistent and courageous soldier.

Although the attempt on the French centre had failed, severe blows had been dealt on both flanks. Pitt's first movement, upon receiving intelligence of the defeat at Ticonderoga, was to recall Abercromby, and appoint Amherst to be commander-in-chief. On September 18 the announcement of the change was sent to the governors in America.

Preparations for the campaign of 1759 were already under way in England. The offensive was to be taken in the South as well as in the North. On October 16, 1758, Pitt wrote to the governors of Barbados and of the Leeward Islands to "give all the Assistance and Succour in your Power to Major General Hopson, whom the King has appointed Commanderin-Chief of a Body of His Land Forces to make an Attack upon the Island of Martinico." Hopson was sent out with two regiments, under convoy of Captain Robert Hughes, with eight ships of the line. His instructions were to effect a junction with Moore, the commander of the squadron on the Leeward Islands station. Before the fleet sailed additional troops were detailed for the service, and Hopson eventually took with him seven companies of Highlanders in addition to the force already mentioned. It was concerning this expedition that Walpole wrote: "Martinico is the general notion; a place the strongest in the world with a garrison of ten thousand men. Others now talk of Guadeloupe, almost

as strong and of much less consequence. Of both, every-

body that knows, despairs." 1

Barbados was the appointed rendezvous, and on January 13, 1759, the combined forces sailed from Carlisle Bay for Martinique.2 Fort Royal harbor was reached on January 15. The ships' guns silenced the batteries of the fort on Negro Point, and on the evening of January 16 the troops effected a landing at Cas des Navires, a short distance north of Fort Royal. Five miles of road lay between the landingplace and the fort, and this road was cut by gulleys which afforded a ready ambush for the enemy, whose forces far outnumbered those of the little English army. The surrounding country was mountainous and heavily wooded. The commodore searched in vain for a landing-place which should command an easier and safer route to the town. A consultation was held, the troops were reëmbarked, and the armament proceeded to St. Pierre, the capital of the island, some forty miles north of Fort Royal. Here, too, the conditions were judged too hazardous to admit of an attempt to carry the town. "The Commodore, having examined the Coast," says Hopson, "sent me a Letter acquainting me that he was of opinion that the Town could be taken, and the Troops put in possession of it; But apprehended that the Ships & Troops might suffer so much as to disable them for any future Attack; and that he thought it would be a great Service to the English sugar Colonies to destroy the Town of Basseterre in Guadeloupe, and to endeavour to reduce that Island. I acquiesced to his opinion." 3

The fleet arrived off Basseterre in Guadaloupe on January 22. The batteries were silenced by the guns of the fleet, and a landing was accomplished without opposition. The fort and intrenchments had been evacuated. The French retired into the mountains of the interior, breaking up the roads as they retreated. Basseterre and Fort Royal were

¹ Letters (ed. Cunningham), III. 182.

² See Hopson's letter of January 11, 1759, and the Journal enclosed in his letter of January 30.

³ See Hopson's letter of January 30, 1759.

occupied, and some attempt at negotiations was made. Neither side, however, was prepared to make concessions. Hopson strengthened his position, and sent to Antigua for a supply of provisions. A week later he reported over fifteen hundred on the sick list, out of his small army, from "the very great heat and fatigue." Moore's despatch of January 30 gives an account of the expedition from the point of view of the naval commander.

No further operations were undertaken under Hopson's direction. He was an elderly man, who could never have been noted for vigor and enterprise. His health failed rapidly, and he died on February 27. He was succeeded by the Hon. John Barrington, his second in command, who proved himself a capable and efficient officer. His first despatch, of March 2, describes "the sickness that has Crep'd in amongst" the troops. "The Army at present consists, as appears by the returns, of only 2,796 Men, fit for Duty." The length of the line of posts to be guarded, together with the bad sanitary conditions, determined Barrington to move his force to the other, or windward, side of the island of Guadeloupe, known as Capsterre. Grandeterre, the other division of the double island of Guadeloupe,1 was still in the possession of the French. The English fleet had captured Fort Louis on its southern coast, in February, but held nothing of the country beyond the walls of the fort. Moore speaks in praise of the fine harbor thus obtained, and of the great fertility of the island.2

The acquisition of the harbor at Fort Louis accomplished a purpose upon which Pitt laid much emphasis, - namely, that of securing a port in which the fleet might take refuge during the hurricane season.⁸ In April several coast towns on Grandeterre were captured. News of the arrival of a French fleet at Martinique forced Moore to withdraw his squadron to Prince Rupert's Bay, in Dominica, respecting which he says, "It is the most convenient place for watching

See note to Hopson's letter of January 30.
 See letter of March 6, 1759.
 See letter of March 9, 1759.

their Motions, giving assistance to the Army, and protecting our Leeward Islands. . . . I don't apprehend the Enemy's

Squadron proposes attacking us." 1

Nor was apprehension necessary. Five ships of the line and three frigates under M. de Bompart reached Martinique, but delayed to take action until the first of May, when they just missed the chance of relieving Guadeloupe. In the meantime Barrington captured one town after another on the coast of Guadeloupe, and destroyed provisions and magazines which his small force did not enable him to hold.2 He himself says, and with justice, that "by great perseverance, and changing intirely the Nature of the War, by carrying it on by Detachments, I have at length made myself Master of both Guadeloupe and Grande Terre. . . . This at last brought the Enemy to terms. . . . I own to you Sir I never expected my Talents for Treaties would have been tried. . . . But my Situation was such that it was absolutely necessary that what was done should not be procrastinated . . . the thing press'd, and some resolution was to be taken immediately." The articles of capitulation, which were signed on May 2, guaranteed to the inhabitants their possessions, and their civil and religious liberty.

Barrington's resolution was taken none too soon, for on the same day that the capitulation was signed, the French governor-general landed a force of some twenty-six hundred men, on Grandeterre. Barrington relates that "As soon as he heard the Capitulation was signed he reëmbarked again;" and he adds that had this support arrived an hour sooner, it "must have made the Conquest of that Island very

difficult, if not impossible."

The French fleet returned to Fort Royal in Martinique, where, it was reported, six ships of the line would shortly join them. So writes Moore, on May 11, and adds that he is preparing in conjunction with Barrington, to attack the neighboring island of Mariegalante. A mere demonstration of force proved sufficient to detach that island from its

¹ See letter of April 11, 1759.

² See letters of May 9, 1759.

allegiance, and on May 26 the English established themselves there. The other island dependencies of Guadeloupe surrendered forthwith. These were the Saintes, la Désirade, and Petit Terre, and with their capitulation the West Indian campaign came to an end. Barrington sailed for England in June, and left Crump, his second in command, as governor

of the new acquisition of Guadeloupe.

The island was justly regarded as of great value. Not only did its fertility and its abundant natural products provide a new market for English commerce. It afforded an admirable naval station which would serve as a base for operations against Dominica, on the south, and also against Martinique, the most valuable of the enemy's island colonies, and a famous resort of buccaneering privateers. It is stated that fourteen hundred Englishmen were taken in the West Indies, during this war, by cruisers whose headquarters was Fort Royal in Martinique. At the same time it lay within easy distance of Antigua, the centre of English authority in the Leeward Islands. It was fairly well settled, and Crump describes the officials of the local administration as "very reasonable and disposed to concur in every Measure for preserving the tranquillity of these Islands and thoroughly convinced of the advantages they will enjoy under the English Government." 1 He asserts that the coffee crop amounts to a third of the whole produce of the island, and estimates the yield of sugar at eighty thousand hogsheads a year, "which," he says, "is more than equivalent to Barbados and all our Leeward Islands."

At this point it is interesting to revert once more to the effect of the twofold aspect of the Seven Years' War. It was a war for colonial and commercial supremacy, many of whose battles were fought upon the continent of Europe. Therefore, in spite of the fact that the geographical conditions made the question of sea-power one of the main factors in determining the result, the possession of naval resources seems to have exerted a surprisingly inconspicuous

effect upon the issue of the conflict in America. The unprotected condition of the Atlantic coast towns offered a tempting field for the operations of the French fleets. The governors in their despatches frequently call attention to the defenceless state of the seaports, from Boston to Savannah.¹ Yet the seaboard remained unmolested during campaign after campaign.

This condition of things was due in part to the weakness of the French navy. In 1756 France had sixty-three ships of the line. Her colonial possessions were in India, the American continent, and the West Indies. Her ally, Spain, could furnish only forty-six line-of-battle ships, and it was notorious that the fighting qualities of the Spanish navy

were hardly to be taken seriously.

England, on the other hand, had one hundred and thirty ships of the line which could be called upon. There is, too, no doubt that the personnel of the French navy was lacking in initiative and resource. Hence salient opportunities were lost. Captain Mahan has pointed out that if, when M. de Bompart found himself unable to relieve Guadeloupe, in the spring of 1759, he had taken his squadron into the harbor of New York, he would have put Amherst on the defensive, and might well have rendered the Hudson valley campaign impossible. Or he might have threatened Halifax and Cape Breton, and thus have forced Saunders to cripple his fleet, and deprived Wolfe of effective naval support. This would have most effectually blockaded the Quebec campaign, since all of Wolfe's operations were based upon his fleet.²

It was to prevent the development of the French navy that Pitt subsidized Prussia. He also organized more or less serious invasions of France herself, which served to keep her troops employed at home, and to prevent the resources of the country being used to strengthen her colonial empire.

While, in the south, England was gaining a new island colony, — in the north, a continent was changing hands.

² See Mahan, Influence of Sea Power upon History, 294.

¹ See letters of April 10, May 14, July 30, and August 1, 1757.

Abercromby's formal acknowledgement of his recall had barely left New York harbor before Pitt had despatched his urgent message to the colonial governors, calling on them to Use their Utmost Endeavours and Influence with the Council and Assembly . . . to induce them to raise with all possible Dispatch . . . at least as large a Body of Men as they did for the last Campaign, and even as many more, as

the Number of . . . Inhabitants may allow." As in the previous year, three lines of attack were planned, although, in 1759, the third of these was a corollary, depending on the success of the other two. Wolfe was ordered to proceed against Quebec, by way of the St. Lawrence. He left England in February, accompanied by a fleet of twenty ships of the line, two fifty-gun ships, frigates, sloops, and transports.2 The fleet was commanded by Admiral Saunders. He reached Louisburg while the harbor was still blocked by ice, and was therefore forced to make port at Halifax. No part of the Seven Years' War is more familiar than the capture of Quebec. The duel between two nations for the great citadel of the continent, with its picturesque background of river and mountain, the striking personality of the opposing generals, and the impressive and tragic close of both careers, have been so often dwelt upon that a repetition of these events would be superfluous.

The letters of Wolfe, Monckton, Townshend, and Saunders, printed in these volumes, give these familiar details the added interest imparted to every occurrence by the testimony

of an eye-witness.3

It was a part of Pitt's plan that Wolfe, upon reaching Quebec, should be supported by Amherst, who was to penetrate the French centre, where Abercromby had failed in the preceding year. The minister's instructions direct Amherst to "attempt an invasion of Canada, by the Way of Crown Point or La Galette,⁴ or both, according as you shall judge

² See list in Clowes, Royal Navy, III. 206.

¹ See letter of December 9, 1758.

³ See letters of June 6, September 2, 5, 15, 20, October 5, 8, 12, 1759. ⁴ Otherwise called Oswegatchie, or La Présentation.

practicable . . . and attack Montreal or Quebec, or both of the said places successively." ¹ He is also to rebuild the fort at Oswego. "It were much to be wished," the instructions continue, "that any Operations on the side of Lake Ontario could be pushed as far as Niagara, and that you may find it practicable to set on foot some Enterprize against the Fort there, the Success of which would so greatly contribute to establish the uninterrupted Dominion of that Lake, and, at the same time, effectually cut off the Communication between Canada, and the French Settlements to the South." ²

In Pennsylvania, Forbes was to be continued in his command, should his health permit, and under his direction such offensive operations as Amherst should judge "most expedient for harassing the Enemy" were to be set on foot in the Ohio valley. No detail of preparation was so insignificant as to be beneath the notice of the secretary for war. His care for detail included the item of molasses to make spruce beer (a reputed specific for the scurvy), and rum, in sufficient quantities to serve the troops for six months.³

Later, on January 23, 1759,4 additional instructions were sent. Forbes was to be directed to push on to Presqu'isle, or even to Cayahoga, — the present Cleveland, Ohio. And, finally, a design was unfolded to attack the French posts in the far south, on the Mobile and Mississippi rivers. This, the third line of attack, was to depend on the possibility of obtaining the coöperation of Saunders's fleet, or of a portion of it. In other words, should the attack on Quebec prove immediately successful, so that Saunders could safely detach a part of his fleet before the winter season set in, a descent upon the French posts in the Gulf of Mexico might properly be undertaken. The vulnerability of the Mobile and Mississippi territory was a consideration which had

¹ See letter to Amherst, of December 29, 1758.

² Ibid.

³ See letter of January 13, 1759.

⁴ See letter of February 10, 1759.

absorbed no small share of Pitt's attention. In 1757¹ Governor Hardy had set forth the dangers of the French occupation of the Illinois country, and the advantageous position of New Orleans as a base of supplies. Pitt's preparations for the campaign of 1758 included a possible invasion of this southern territory.²

It proved impracticable for Amherst to extend the operations of that year so far to the south, and in 1759 the scheme came to the front again, as an issue depending upon the result of the Quebec expedition. Had France been in a position to exert her full strength in defence of her American possessions, or had the condition of her civil service enabled her actually to devote to the preservation of her colonies the supplies which were ostensibly destined for that purpose, the strategical advantage of her posts on the great waterways of the south would have been of as vital consequence as it was proved to be on the waterways of the north. Here, as elsewhere, she is demonstrated her own worst enemy.

To the southern colonies these posts were an ever present source of irritation. Governor Dobbs of North Carolina writes in January, 1760,3 to express his thankfulness at "the glorious Conquest [of] Quebec," and adds his "strong hopes," and those of the colony, that "the Conquest of Mississippi and Mobile wou'd follow the Conquest of Canada which can only secure the future peace of these Southern Provinces, which will prevent any future American Wars with the French, and upon opening the Hudson Bay Trade will give us the whole Trade of the Northern Continent to Mexico . . . the Conquest will be easy, and may either follow or precede the Conquest of the remaining Sugar Islands in one Campaign, as Providence assists us and our Troops are flushed with Success upon the vigorous Measures you have inspired in supporting the protestant Church and Cause of Liberty." 4 In the campaign of 1761

⁴ See Atkin's letter of March 27, 1760, and Ellis's of April 16.

¹ See letters of February 26, and April 10, 1757; and January 27, and March 7, 1758.

² See letter of February 10, 1759.

³ See letter of January 21, 1760.

the design was again brought forward as an alternative to

the expedition against Martinique.1

Long before the pious and patriotic governor whose words have just been quoted had utilized the opportunity for penning them, the little English garrison at Quebec had entered upon a winter of privation and suffering, the more to be deplored because it would seem to have been entirely unnecessary. Notwithstanding Pitt's emphatic orders respecting the forwarding of necessary provisions,2 Wolfe wrote him at the opening of the campaign, on June 6, 1759, "Several Transports have not yet join'd us, their Provisions and their Boats are both very much wanted; . . . I writ to General Amherst for money, but he could send me none; this is one of the first Sieges perhaps, that ever was undertaken without it." By October, Monckton, the commanding officer at Quebec, was so hard-pressed for funds, that before the departure of the fleet he applied to Admiral Saunders, who collected, from among the officers of his squadron, £4000.3 for the immediate needs of the little army.

For some four months previous to this time Amherst had been directing a double campaign against Ticonderoga and Niagara. With the deliberation that, as Parkman truly says, marked his every proceeding, Amherst assembled his army at Fort Edward, preparatory to investing Ticonderoga. By the end of June he had an army of about eleven thousand men at his disposal. A small proportion of these were Indians, for whose martial prowess, Amherst had but small respect. Several months earlier he wrote Pitt 4 that a large number of Indians were promised him, "and I shall take those of Stockbridge &c." which were employed last year: they are a pack of lazy rum-drinking people and little good, but if ever they are of use it will be when we can act offensively: the french are much more afraid of them than they

² See Pitt's letter of December 29, 1758.

⁴ See letter of February 28, 1759.

¹ See letter of Pitt to Amherst, October 24, 1760.

³ See letter of November 24, 1759; and also Murray's, of June 27, 1760.

need be, numbers will encrease their Terror and may have a good Effect." He finally decided to send them to join

Prideaux's expedition against Niagara.

It was July 22 before Amherst found himself able to "proceed from the lake" 1 (i.e. Lake George), and on reaching Ticonderoga he found the fort abandoned. The French, under Bourlamaque, retired down Lake Champlain to the outlet, and took post at the Isle-aux-Noix, a position ad-

mirably adapted for defence.

On August 4 news reached Amherst of the capture of Niagara by Johnson.² Prideaux, to whom the command of the expedition had been given, was killed by an accident, and the command devolved upon our old acquaintance, Sir William Johnson. Amherst sent Gage to take Prideaux's place, with instructions to strengthen Oswego and Niagara, and push on through Lake Ontario to the St. Lawrence river, in order to capture La Galette.³ This, Gage found himself unable to do. His force was not large. Garrisons were required at both Niagara and Oswego, and his supplies were deficient. To the disappointment both of Amherst and of Pitt, he reported that he was not able to advance toward the St. Lawrence.⁴

Further operations on Lake George were limited to laying out a new road along the course of Otter Creek to the New England frontier post of Number 4, to exploring the sources of the Hudson, and to building a fleet with which to meet that of the enemy. Information was brought in to the effect that the French force at Isle-aux-Noix amounted to thirty-five hundred men, one hundred cannon, and four vessels. One of these ships carried two 12-pounders and six 6-pounders. Two of the others carried eight guns each.

Clowes, in the History of the Royal Navy, criticises Amherst for neglecting to bring materials and appliances for ship-building to Lake Champlain. It is certain that the process lagged sadly under the conditions as they existed.

¹ See letter of July 27, 1759. ² See letter of August 5, 1759.

³ See letter of December 29, 1759.

⁴ See letters of October 22 and December 11, 1759. ⁵ III. 205.

Amherst, in his letters, complains that the saw-mill is constantly breaking down. It was not until the eleventh of October that his little fleet arrived at Crown Point. It consisted of a brigantine carrying six 6-pounders, twelve 4-pounders, and twenty swivels, manned by seventy seamen and sixty marines. The sloop which accompanied her carried four 6-pounders, twelve 4-pounders, and twenty-two swivels, and a complement of sixty seamen and fifty marines. Besides these vessels there was a radeau, or raft,

on which were mounted six 24-pounders.

Amherst lost no time in embarking his troops and stores, and the flotilla started down the lake at about four o'clock of the afternoon of October 11. On the next morning the enemy's ships were sighted. That afternoon brought bad weather. "A storm and quite contrary wind, continued so all day," is Amherst's entry for the following, October 13. Three days of severe storm were followed by a sharp frost. A few more days of wintry weather convinced Amherst that the campaign was ended, and he returned to Crown Point. Two of the enemy's sloops had been driven into a bay, and were sunk by their crews, who escaped to the woods. Their eventual capture was the only result of the naval campaign on Lake Champlain.

It was not until October 18 that intelligence of the surrender of Quebec reached Amherst, through the lieutenant-

governor of New York.

The chronicle of the Hudson valley campaign cannot be closed without a reference to the notable expedition of Robert Rogers against St. Francis. Under the date September 12, Amherst records,² "I ordered a detachment of 220 chosen men under the command of Major Rogers that he may destroy the St. Francis Indian Settlements and the french Settlements on the South Side the River St. Lawrence."

Rogers describes the Indian village as "within three miles of the river St. Laurence." His party reached and de-

¹ See letter of October 22, 1759.

stroyed the town. The narrative of their return journey is preëminent among the many stirring tales of that period of frontier warfare for its record of suffering and hardship. Amherst's account of the affair is given in his despatch of

December 16, 1759.

It remains to consider the progress of events in Pennsylvania, where Stanwix,2 an officer of some reputation, had been sent to succeed Forbes. The plan of operations laid out for him was the following: he was to rebuild Fort Du Quesne, to cut off the traffic between Canada and the Indians of the west and south, to protect the border settlements against Indian forays, and to win over to the English cause as many Indian allies as might be possible. It was also hoped that an expedition against Presqu'isle or Cayahoga might be undertaken.3 Stanwix found himself much hampered at the opening of the campaign by the lack of supplies and men. Forbes's accounts had fallen into great confusion. Debts for forage and transportation were still unpaid, and Stanwix found himself obliged to borrow £50,000 from the province of Pennsylvania for the king's service. The necessary troops were obtained with even greater difficulty. Stanwix says that he and Amherst discussed the situation and made their calculations to the effect that seventy-three hundred men would probably be forthcoming; but, he continues, "there has been such a Falling Off, of the Southern Provinces, that . . . The Utmost that I have any Reason to expect This Campaign, is . . . 3580 Men." 4

The little army assembled at Fort Bedford (Raystown) early in July, and set out for the Ohio in the hope of supporting Prideaux's attack on Niagara. The accumulation of difficulties and delays made it impossible to begin work upon the fort at Pittsburg until September 10.5 Two

¹ See note to letter of October 22, cited above.

² For an account of Stanwix, see note to letter of June 17, 1757.

⁸ See letter of January 23, 1759. ⁴ See letter of June 22, 1759.

⁵ See letter of November 20, 1759.

months later he writes of the town as "a thriving place and

pritty ful of trading Houses within the works." 1

The French posts on Lake Erie and French Creek (the ultimate object of attack) were burned and abandoned by their garrisons on receiving intelligence of the occupation of Niagara by the English, in the last days of July. The fickle allegiance of the Indian tribes was purchased by Sir William Johnson "by presents, provisions, and fine speeches, but the two first have had the greatest weight, but at the same time attended with a very large expence but nothing in Comparison with the advantage of the Furr trade reestablish'd here, and the sure and immediate protection of the three great Provinces, Virginia, Maryland, and Pensilvania." ²

Outside of American territory the campaign of 1759 was marked by successes as far-reaching and decisive as those which have been outlined here. The battle of Minden in Germany was closely followed by the naval victories off Cape Lagos, and in Quiberon Bay, while, in India, Madras was secured to England. This was the culminating point of Pitt's fame. Walpole writes, "Our bells are worn threadbare with ringing for victories." Throughout the world the name of England's minister was identified with victory.

Even before the campaign of 1759 was fairly opened, the French minister, Choiseul, had endeavored to play upon the rising jealousy of England's naval supremacy, in order to form a coalition of continental powers against her. Fifty

years later, Napoleon resorted to a similar policy.

In August the death of the king of Spain somewhat improved the situation so far as France was concerned. The new sovereign was anxious to revive the "family compact," and wished that the Bourbon monarchies should act jointly. Such was the diplomatic situation throughout the year 1760, while Frederick of Prussia was winning the fields of Liegnitz and Torgau, and Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick was leading the English armies to victory at Emsdorf and Warburg.

¹ See letter of November 20, 1759. ³ Letters (ed. Cunningham), III. 259.

It has been aptly pointed out by Mr. Hubert Hall1 that the impending danger of a renewal of the "family compact" between France and Spain caused Pitt to expand his colonial policy until it became truly imperial; that henceforth the area of conquest was not to be limited to Canada, but should include Louisiana and Martinique. The despatches already quoted have shown that both these projects had been entertained by Pitt, and one of them actually undertaken, before the "family compact" assumed unusually threatening proportions. Doubtless the Bourbon alliance was ever present to his mind as a combination that had at one time proved dangerous and might easily become so again. Doubtless too, that mind saw clearly, and enthusiastically appreciated, the opportunity to extend her power and prestige which lay ready to England's hand, would she but grasp it. And, for the time being, he led his country where he would. ment voted fifteen and one-half millions for the supplies. An army of over one hundred thousand men, and twenty thousand militia, were at his disposal.

For the colonies, the end was already in sight, and they responded to the appeal "to raise . . . at least as large a Body of Men" as for the preceding campaign, with varying degrees of alacrity, it is true, but on the whole with creditable patriotism. The object set forth was, "an Irruption into Canada, in order to reduce Montreal, and all other Posts belonging to the French in those Parts." Instructions to that effect were at the same time sent to Amherst.

Among the documents in the Chatham (Pringle) MSS., Bundle 98, there is an interesting draught of a letter to Amherst, drawn up in January, 1760, which contains additional instructions respecting a campaign against Martinique, "not to be made to take place till after the Hurricane Months," that is to say, about the end of September, or first days of October.³ In the meantime, two thousand men were to be sent from America to Guadeloupe, to coöperate with

¹ American Historical Review (July, 1900).

² See letter of January 7, 1760.

⁸ The document is printed on page 247 of volume II.

Dalrymple, the new governor, in an attempt to take possession of Dominica and Santa Lucia. It was hoped that later in the season, after the close of the campaign upon the American continent, six thousand additional troops might be sent from there to the West Indies.

For the present, however, the situation in Canada was such as to absorb all the available energies of Amherst and his army. On the evening of May 10 a sloop-of-war from Quebec put into Halifax, with despatches from Governor Murray to General Amherst. Governor Lawrence (of Nova Scotia) wrote at once to Pitt respecting their contents, "Captain McCartney was the bearer of the Express, from whom I had the unspeakable Mortification to learn that General Murray after an obstinate Action with the Enemy near Quebec on the twentyeighth of April had been forced to retreat into the Garrison with such considerable Loss that He doubted from the Circumstances in which He left M. Murray whether the Garrison was not by this time in the Hands of the Enemy." 1

The news was but too true. Throughout the winter rumors of an intended attack had been brought in to Quebec. On April 23 the ice in the river broke up, and three days later word was brought that the French under De Lévis, and with a naval escort of seven vessels, were within thirty-two miles of Quebec. By the advice of his engineer, who pronounced the town untenable, Murray had already begun to fortify the Heights of Abraham. It was impossible to complete his intrenchments, and he therefore determined to act on the offensive, and attack De Lévis outside the walls

of the city.

The situation was the reversal of the positions of Wolfe and Montcalm. The action took place on April 28. De Lévis hastily threw up a redoubt, and held his position against the repeated assaults of the English. Murray was finally obliged to withdraw his little army of three thousand within the walls of Quebec. He had suffered a loss of two

hundred and eighty-three killed, and eight hundred and forty-one wounded. De Lévis's force is variously estimated from eight to ten thousand. The French army immediately invested Quebec. A siege of three weeks' duration was interrupted (fortunately for the besieged) by the arrival in the St. Lawrence of the Halifax squadron, under Lord Colville, who had left his station on April 22, twelve days before Murray's messenger touched at that port.

The news concerning the English movements to the south must have proved equally disturbing to the Canadian commander. Amherst was collecting men and supplies at Albany, preparatory to a double "Irruption into Canada." One division of the army, under Haviland, was to force a way down the Richelieu river into the St. Lawrence. The other, under Amherst, was to proceed by way of the Mohawk and Lake Ontario, down the St. Lawrence to Montreal. It was hoped that in the meantime Murray would be able to ascend the river, and effect a junction with Amherst before that city.

The plan of campaign was carried out to the letter. No one of the three commanding generals met with an opposition that could be said to be worthy of the name. More men were lost in passing the rapids of the St. Lawrence than in any offensive operations which were undertaken. Amherst's despatches of June 21, August 26, September 8, October 4 and 8, give the details of his campaign, and in Murray's letters of August 24 and October 7 the record of

his experiences will be found.

On September 7, Montreal capitulated, the French army were made prisoners of war, and for the first time in two centuries the fleur-de-lys ceased to wave over the Great River of Hochelaga. Only six years had passed since the claim of France to the whole of the American continent north of the St. Lawrence and west of the Ohio had been practically, if not theoretically, acknowledged. Her skilfully constructed chain of forts had dominated the valleys

¹ See letter of May 25, 1760.
² See letter of May 24, 1760.
³ For an account of Haviland, see note to letter of April 28, 1760.

of the Mississippi and Ohio, and of the Great Lakes, as well as that of the St. Lawrence. Her influence over the Indian tribes had been paramount. Her system of colonization — whatever its deficiencies — provided for a strong central authority by whose word of command the entire resources of the province could be utilized for military operations. Mr. Harrison has well said that "no years in modern history are more pregnant with incalculable issues than those closing years of the reign of George II., wherein it was finally decided that the English language, common law, literature, and blood, should be settled on the continent of America from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Arctic Ocean to the Gulf of Mexico." ¹

In the October of 1760 George II. died, and was succeeded by his grandson, George III. No English king is better known to the student of American history, and it is rarely the case that truth and prejudice are so nearly coincident as they appear to be in the various delineations of the character of the new sovereign. Friends and foes concur in describing him as an admirable pattern of domestic virtue, and an efficient back-stairs politician, but sadly lacking in the essential qualities of a leader of the nation.

Pitt remained in office under the new régime until the October of 1761. If we may judge from his official correspondence, there was little change of attitude where American affairs were concerned. His circular letter of December 17, 1760, to the colonial governors, sets forth the advantage of reducing the enemy "to the necessity of accepting a peace on terms of Glory and advantage to His Maj^{w,'s} Crown, and beneficial, in particular, to His subjects in Am^{ca}." ² The provinces are accordingly urged "to raise with all possible dispatch, . . . two thirds of the number of Men, they raised for the last Campaign." Pitt's letter to Amherst, of the same date, contains a significant phrase. He says, "I make no doubt, that, in a very few Days, I shall have some Orders from the King to transmit to you on that most

¹ Chatham, 112.

interesting Subject" (i.e. the ensuing campaign). We see that already another hand was on the helm, and the former captain of the ship of state was taking orders from his successor. On January 7, 1761, he writes that the ultimate object of the campaign will be the reduction of Martinique. The remainder of the despatch is a virtual repetition of the draught of January, 1760, to which allusion has already been made.¹

Once the West Indian campaign was decided upon, Pitt threw all his wonted enthusiasm and energy into the preparations. On February 14² orders were sent to Governor Dalrymple, of Guadeloupe, "to procure the best Intelligence you can, by any Means, obtain of the present State and Situation of the said Ids. of Dominique and Sta Lucia;" and further, that should it be found practicable to take possession of these islands before the arrival of the larger detachment of troops from North America, the governor was to "hold himself in readiness . . . to coöperate in the Execution of the same."

Dalrymple had been appointed governor of Guadeloupe in September, 1760. He arrived at his post on the third of the following January, "where," he says, "I found everything in the utmost tranquillity." He then describes his inauguration as governor, and the proclamation of King George III. On this occasion the former procureur-général made "an elegant yet guarded Speech, acknowledging the mildness of our Government." His despatch also gives an account of the principal defences of the island — Forts Royal and George, "neither of which would be capable of making resistance in any other Climate than this, where the difficulties of forming a Siege make the security of every place." He reports the arrival of a French fleet at Martinique; "they talk also," he continues, "of seven sail of the Line, having anchor'd last Sunday the 15th at Fort Royal." The report proved to be greatly exaggerated. Sir James Douglas, the commander on the Leeward Islands station, succeeded in

¹ See page lx.

² See letter of that date.

⁸ See letter of February 21, 1761. ⁴ See letter of March 14, 1761.

blocking up one French ship of the line and two frigates, at the Grenadines, and thus delayed the arrival of reënforcements at Martinique. On May 5, Dalrymple writes that "Allowing a month or five weeks' preparation, we may daily expect the Arrival of the American troops at Guadeloupe, where I am ready with 300 season'd Men with some Artillery to coöperate with them." 1

In the first days of June the transports from New York appeared, with Lord Rollo² in command. Rollo arrived off Roseau, in the island of Dominica, on June 6, under convoy of four ships of the line and some frigates. He "judg'd it best, to send [a] Summons to the Inhabitants, to which, after their Recovering somewhat from their Consternation and having sent off two Deputys, probably to amuse us, they return'd a Negative Answer." Thereupon the troops were disembarked, and a brisk attack was made upon the enemy's intrenchments, from which they "were driven . . . in great Confusion." "Next Day," Rollo writes, "I Establish'd my Head Quarters in Roseau, and have been since much Employed in receiving the Oaths of Submission, & Surrender of Arms from the nearest Inhabitants . . . I gave them no other Terms than a Protection till his Majesty's pleasure shou'd be known."

No other offensive operations were undertaken during the campaign of 1761. Monckton was detailed by Amherst to command the expedition which left New York in the November of that year to effect the conquest of Martinique.

Amherst's despatch ⁴ containing this intelligence is the last in the correspondence between Pitt and the colonial officials, civil and military. Pitt had, in fact, resigned office some seven weeks before Amherst's communication was written. His last despatch on the colonial service is that of September 21, 1761. It is his instructions to General Monckton respecting the attack to be made on Martinique, "which, if It succeeds, It is not doubted, will be followed with the imme-

¹ See letter of that date.

² For an account of Lord Rollo, see note to letter of June 8, 1761.

³ See letter of June 8, 1761. ⁴ See letter of November 27, 1761.

diate Reduction of the Neutral Islands, of Sta Lucia, and St. Vincent, and of all the French Islands in those Parts." 1

With these characteristic words the great war minister laid down his pen, but the patriotism and enthusiasm which he had aroused were not so readily put to one side. The campaign of 1762 was forced upon a reluctant ministry, and quite inadequately supported, yet such was the spirit with which Pitt had imbued both army and navy, and so farreaching were the plans he had adopted that that campaign resulted in a series of victories only less glorious than those of 1759. In the West Indies, Martinique, Saint Lucia, and St. Vincent were captured, and Havana capitulated. East Indies, Manila and the Philippines were conquered. Walpole wrote that the eloquence of Pitt shone for months after it had set, like an annihilated star. "I tell you it has conquered Martinico. . . . The Romans were three hundred years in conquering the world. We subdued the globe in three campaigns — and a globe as big again." 2

There are certain other aspects of these documents, aside from the purely military, which should be touched on in any

attempt to give an outline of their contents.

The letters of the various "war governors" of colonial times present what may be called the American point of view. The colonial executive was, however, a "war governor" whose authority frequently availed little or nothing. He was dependent upon his colony for everything except the commission which sent him there. He was more likely to encounter a disposition to exact concessions than a willingness to vote men and money. For the most part the governors' letters in this collection are concerned with the quotas of troops raised by the respective colonies, and with the other details of a military campaign. Besides this main topic, there are occasional side issues of greater general interest. A case in point is the not infrequent document concerning the "Outrages committed by the British American Privateers against the Spanish Trade." 3 Pitt's attitude toward Spain

¹ See letter of that date.

² Letters, III. 498.

⁸ See letter of June 14, 1758.

has been extolled, criticised, and defended. Whatever explanation of his policy may be adopted, it is a matter of demonstrable fact that throughout the years 1758, 1759, and 1760 he explicitly forbade depredations upon Spanish merchantmen even in that borderland of ocean traffic — the

Spanish Main.1

Another phase of this "illegal and most pernicious Trade" 2 was that "carried on by the King's Subjects" with the French in Canada and Louisiana, and in the West Indies. A principal market for the produce of the English colonies was that commanded by their coasting trade, and the most profitable form of that trade was the exchange of lumber, naval stores, flour, beef, fish, and the articles of British manufacture for the sugar and molasses of the West Indies. Since patriotism will not of itself create a demand for goods, the New England and New York skippers were sorely tempted to dispose of their cargoes in those ports where the range of prices was highest, "by which the Enemy is . . . supplyed with Provisions, and other Necessaries, whereby they are, principally, if not alone, enabled to sustain, and protract, this long and expensive War," says Pitt, in indignant remonstrance. The letter from which this quotation is taken was sent to the governors in North America and in the West Indies, in the August of 1760. Throughout the remainder of that year and the first six months of 1761 we have a series of replies from the governors of almost every American colony.3 Two of these despatches are of especial interest for the light which they throw on the conditions of the West Indian trade, legal and illegal. One is that of Governor Hopkins of Rhode Island, written on December 20, 1760. The other was written by Governor Colden of New York, on December 27.

Hopkins asserts that the produce of the English colonies

¹ See letters of August 6, 1757; February 3, 21, June 14, 1758; January 23, May 18, December 19, 1759.

See letter of August 23, 1760.
 Namely, on October 23, 27, 28, November 1, 8, 11, 26, December 9, 15, 20, 27, 1760; January 26, February 17, 27, April 2, May 5, July 15, 1761.

exceeds their own needs by the amount of one hundred thousand barrels of flour and great quantities of beef, pork, and fish; "and the Lumber produced in the Northern Colonies, so much exceeds the Market . . . in the English West Indies, that a vast Surplusage remains that cannot be used there." He then proceeds to point out that whatever amount the New England merchant may obtain for his goods, from Frenchman, Dutchman, or Spaniard, is straightway expended for British manufactures, made in England. "The Quantity of British Manufactures consumed in these Colonies, are only limited by the Ability of the Inhabitants to pay for them." Much the same line of thought is followed in the letter of the New York executive.

Although it is true that the governor of a colony was by no means necessarily popular, or in sympathy with the needs of his so-called constituency, it is equally true that even the average governor was a man whose opinion on matters of colonial import is to be regarded with respect. Such is preeminently the case with a man like Governor Pownall of Massachusetts. Pownall succeeded Shirley in 1757. His administration was marked by unwonted cordiality and good feeling between the governor and the governed. No one can read his despatches and fail to note his ability to appreciate both aspects of a disputed question of military or civil prerogative, and his efforts to insure a due realization of the services rendered by his province to the common cause.

His suggestions for securing the Penobscot country, and the means by which those suggestions were put into prac-

tice, are also worthy of attention.

Pownall's counterpart in the southern colonies is Lieutenant-governor Ellis of Georgia, whose letters give interesting accounts of the poverty and the possible resources of his colony, as well as of his diplomatic relations with the neighboring Indian tribes. Other governors whose letters are conspicuous are Sharpe of Maryland, Lyttelton of South Carolina, and De Lancey of New York.

In conclusion, the editor takes this opportunity to express the indebtedness of the National Society of Colonial Dames

in America to Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, Director of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington, to whose suggestion the publication of this correspondence is due, and who has supervised its preparation. It is likewise a pleasure to acknowledge the writer's personal debt to the same eminent scholar for his kindly interest, and valuable advice and suggestions. Cordial thanks are also due to Mr. Hubert Hall of the Public Record Office, in London.

GERTRUDE SELWYN KIMBALL.



PITT TO GOVERNOR LAWRENCE 1

WHITEHALL, Decr. 22d, 1756.

Sir.

The Dangers to which North America stands exposed have determined the King to take vigorous & effectual Measures to stop the Progress of the Enemy, & to annoy them, if possible, in their own Possessions. It is therefore the King's Intention to cause a Squadron of Ships of War, together with a considerable Land Force, to proceed shortly to North America, whereof 2000 Men will be forthwith sent to Halifax;² and I am to signify to you the King's Pleasure, that you do make the necessary Preparations for receiving & accommodating the said Troops upon their Arrival in your Government, and that you do follow such Directions, as you shall receive from the Earl of Loudoun,³

¹ P. R. O., America and West Indies, vol. 75. Pitt became leader of the House of Commons and secretary of state for the southern department on December 4, 1756. He was dismissed by George II. on April 5, 1757, but on June 29 was reinstated in office, with full control of foreign affairs and the conduct of the war. He held his position until October 5, 1761.

Charles Lawrence succeeded General Hopson as acting governor of Nova Scotia in 1753, and was appointed governor in 1756. He was made a brigadier-general in the December of 1757, and commanded a brigade at the

siege of Louisburg in 1758. He died October 17, 1760.

² The English fleet, under Admiral Holburne, sailed on May 5, 1757, for Halifax. It comprised fifteen ships of the line and three frigates, with five thousand troops on board. Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe, I. 469.

³ John Campbell, fourth Earl of Loudoun, was appointed governor of Virginia on February 17, 1756, and on March 20, commander-in-chief of the British forces in America.

who is more particularly acquainted with the King's Inten-

tion upon this Occasion.

His Majesty hopes, that the Precautions you have taken with the Advice of the Council at Halifax, against any Attempt, that the Enemy may make upon the Isthmus of Chignecto,¹ by the Detachment of a Force from Canada, will be sufficient to disappoint it, and that you will continue to exert your Diligence to secure Every Part of your Government by a proper Application of the Force within it; which you will be the better able to do, if Major Hale,² whom you mention in your Letter of Augt 5th, to have been dispatched to Louisburg, (but of whom We have since had no Account here) has succeeded so far in his Commission, as to discover the real Strength and Designs of the Enemy.

I am etc. W. PITT.

P. S. Your Letter of Nov: 3d has been received this Day.

PITT TO GOVERNOR LAWRENCE 3

WнітенаL. Feb. 4th 1757.

Sir,

By my Letter of the 22^d Decem! 4 you were informed of His Majesty's Intention to send a Considerable Land Force, with a Squadron of Ships of War, to N. America, whereof 2000 Men were to proceed forthwith to Halifax; I have now the King's Commands Kennedy's. to acquaint you, that the Second Battalion of the Royals, augmented to the Number of 1000 Men, with the Six Regiments, mentioned in the Margin, consisting Each of 815 Men, are ordered for Embarkation,

¹ The isthmus connecting the peninsula of Acadia (Nova Scotia) with the mainland. In 1750 the English raised a small fortification on the south side of the isthmus, at the head of the Bay of Chignecto, which they called Fort Lawrence. In the same year the French built Fort Beauséjour, some three miles to the west of the English post. In 1755 Fort Beauséjour was captured by the English, and became Fort Cumberland. Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe, I. 118, 119, 253.

² See letter of February 14, 1757. ³ P. R. O., A. and W. I., vol. 75.

⁴ See preceding letter.

and, it is hoped, will sail from Corke, the last days of this Month, for Halifax, together with a Train of Artillery, Ordnance Stores, Six * * * Engineers, and Four * Companies of the Artillery Regiment. You will receive more particular Directions from the Earl of Loudoun, with regard to the future Disposition of these Troops &c., I am therefore now only to signify to you the King's Pleasure, that you should immediately, upon the receipt of this Letter, make all necessary Preparations for receiving and accommodating the Forces above mentioned, at, and near Halifax, and that you should particularly collect together, as large a Quantity, as possible, of Provisions, and all other kinds of Refreshments, for the Troops, on their Arrival. Care has been taken here, to put on board the Transports for 2000 of these Men, Four Months Beef and Pork, Ten Weeks of other Species, except Beer and Malt Spirits, of which they have the same Proportion as was supplied for the two Regiments sent to N. America, in 1754. The rest of the Transports are victualled with 3 Months Beef & Pork, and 2 Months of all other Species, and Orders are also given for landing with the Troops in America, the whole, or such Part of the Sea Bedding, as shall be required by you, or the Earl of Loudoun, for the use of the Men on Shore.

The punctual Execution of these Orders, is so very Material, that His Majesty doubts not, from the Zeal and Activity you have hitherto shown, in His Service, but you

will exert your utmost Diligence on this Occasion.

I am &c:-

W. PITT.

PITT TO THE GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF RHODE ISLAND 1

Gentlemen, Whitehall Feb. 4th 1757.

The King, having nothing more at heart, than the Preservation of His Good Subjects and Colonies of North

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 75. Printed in Col. Rec. of R.I., VI. 39; Corr. of R.I. Governors, II. 246; N.H. Prov. Papers, VI. 596; N.Y. Col. Doc., VII. 216; N.J. Arch., VIII. 241.

America, has come to a Resolution of acting with the greatest Vigour in those Parts, the ensuing Campaign; and all necessary Preparations are making for sending a considerable Reinforcement of Troops, together with a strong Squadron of Ships for that Purpose; And in Order to act Offensively against the French in Canada.

It is His Majesty's Pleasure that You should forthwith call together Your Council and Assembly, and press them, in the strongest Manner, to raise, with the utmost Expedition, a Number of Provincial Troops, at least equal to those raised the last Year, for the Service of the ensuing Campaign, over and above what they shall judge necessary for the immediate Defence of their own Province, and that the Troops, so raised, do act in such Parts as the Earl of Loudoun, or the commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces, for the Time being, shall judge most conducive to the Service in general.1 And the King doubts not, but that the several Provinces, truly sensible of His Paternal Care, in sending so large a Force for their Security, will exert their utmost Endeavours to second, and strengthen such Offensive Operations against the French, as the Earl of Loudoun, or the Commander in Chief, for the Time being, shall judge expedient; and will not clogg the Enlistments of the Men, or the Raising of the Money for their Pay, &c, with such Limitations, as have been hitherto found to render their Service difficult and ineffectual; And as a further Encouragement, I am to acquaint You, that the raising of the Men, their Pay, Arms and Cloathing, will be all that will be required on the Part of the several Provinces, Measures having been already taken for laying up Magazines of Stores and Provisions of all kinds, at the Expence of the Crown.

I cannot too strongly recommend it to You to use all Your Influence with Your Council and Assembly for the

¹ The Rhode Island Assembly met on February 1, in response to an appeal from Lord Loudoun, and voted to raise, clothe, and pay four hundred and fifty effective men for the ensuing campaign, to serve for one year under Lord Loudoun. *Col. Rec. of R.I.*, VI. 22.

punctual and immediate Execution of these His Majesty's Commands.

I am, &c.

W. PITT.

PITT TO GOVERNORS OF SOUTHERN PROVINCES IN AMERICA 1

WHITEHALL 4th Febry 1757.

Sir

The King having Nothing more at heart than the Preservation of his good Subjects and Colonies of North America, has come to a Resolution of acting with the greatest Vigour in those Parts, the ensuing Campaign, and all necessary Preparations are making for sending a considerable Reinforcement of Troops together with a strong Squadron of Ships, for that Purpose, & in Order to act offensively against the French in Canada.

It is His Majesty's Pleasure that you should forthwith call together Your Council & Assembly & press them in the strongest Manner to raise with the utmost Expedition as large a Number of Provincial Forces as may be for the Service of the ensuing Campaign, over and above what they shall judge necessary for the immediate Defence of their own Province, & that the Troops so raised do act in such Parts as the Earl of Loudoun, or the Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces for the Time being shall judge most conducive to the Service in general.

And the King doubts not, but that the several Provinces, truly sensible of His paternal Care, in sending so large a Force for their Security, will exert their utmost Endeavours to second, and strengthen such offensive Operations against the French, as the Earl of Loudoun, or the Commander in Chief for the Time being, shall judge expedient, and will not clogg the Enlistments of the Men, or the raising of the Money for their Pay &c with such Limitations, as have been hitherto found to render their Service difficult & ineffectual; And as a further Encouragement I am to acquaint you that

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 75. Printed in Penn. Arch., III. 95; Col. Rec. of N. C., V. 743.

the raising of the Men, their Pay, Arms, & cloathing will be all that will be required for this Campaign on the Part of the several Provinces Measures having been already taken for laying up Magazines of Stores; and Provisions of all kinds at the Expence of the Crown.

I cannot too strongly recommend it to you to use all your Influence with your Council and Assembly for the punctual & immediate execution of these His Majesty's Commands.

I am likewise to acquaint you, that the Earl of Loudoun is directed to send forthwith to Virginia a Battalion of regular Forces, to be employed as the Exigency shall require for the Succour and Defence of the said Province of Virginia, South Carolina or any other of the Southern Colonies.¹

I am &c

W. PITT.

GOVERNOR BELCHER TO PITT²

Sir, ELIZ^a Town (New Jersey) Febru^a 9. 1757.

I yesterday received, viâ New York, by the Earl of Leicester packet, the Honour of yours of the 7 of December last ad-

¹ In a meeting of the governors of North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania with Lord Loudoun at Philadelphia, in March, 1757, it was agreed that one battalion of one thousand men should be assigned to the defence of the southern colonies, and also the "three Independent Companies in South Carolina . . . which may amount to two hundred effective Men." Of these troops, Pennsylvania was to furnish fourteen hundred; Maryland, five hundred; Virginia, one thousand; North Carolina, four hundred; South Carolina, five hundred; and the regular troops, twelve hundred. The meeting also "agreed that there ought to be two thousand Men employed in The Defense of that province of South Carolina and to secure Georgia," in the event of an attack on the part of the French at San Domingo, or from the Creek Indians who had a fort "on the head of the Mobile." Five hundred of these were to be regulars, and of the remainder South Carolina was to furnish five hundred, North Carolina, two hundred, Virginia, four hundred, and Pennsylvania, two hundred. "Three Independent Companies" made up the two thousand. See Col. Rec. of N.C., V. 751.

² Å. and W. I., vol. 71. Jonathan Belcher was a native of Massachusetts, and served as governor of that colony from 1729 to 1741. He remained in England for the greater part of the next five years. In 1746 he was appointed governor of New Jersey, and held the office until his death, in the August of

1757.

vising me that His Majesty had been graciously pleased to honour you with the Office of His Principal Secretary of State for the Southern Department, in the Room of M. Fox; I shall therefore, for the future address my Letters to you to be laid before the King. — and I take this first Opportunity, Sir, of congratulating you, upon this Mark of His

Majesty's high Esteem and Regard. -

I humbly thank you, Sir, for His Majesty's most gracious Speech to the Parliament of the 2^d of December last together with the Address of the House of Lords, and that of the House of Commons, to His Majesty in Answer to the said Speech;—and I greatly rejoice to see such a perfect Harmony subsisting between the King and His dutiful and loyal People; which I hope forebodes Success to His Majesty's Paternal Care and Efforts for the Security of all his Dominions, and so for the future Happiness and Prosperity of all His People.

I have the Honour to be with great Respect,

Honourable Sir, your most obedient and most humble Servant

J. Belcher.

GOVERNOR LAWRENCE TO PITT 1

Boston, Feb. 14. 1757.

Sir,

I had yesterday the Honour to receive Your two letters of December 7th and 22th 1756 and in obedience to your Commands I shall avail Myself of every favourable opportunity of transmitting you the earliest Intelligence, and laying before you all such occurrences (relative to His Majesty's Province intrusted to my Care) as shall appear of sufficient Importance to be communicated.

I came to this Place Sir by the Earl of Loudouns appointment to consult with his Lordship upon such parts of his plan of operation for the ensuing campaign as had any connection with the Province of Nova Scotia, and as the business

I had with his Lordship and with the Agent for Nova Scotia here is likely to detain me (altho' my Lord be gone) for some days to come, I have transmitted Copys of your letters to Lieut: Governor Monckton who will immediately enter upon the preparation necessary for receiving and accommodating that part of the Land Force his Majesty has been pleased to direct shall proceed forthwith for Halifax and I presume before my Departure I shall receive the Earl of Loudoun's further and more particular directions in regard to the Service He will think it most expedient to employ them in.

I have the satisfaction to acquaint you Sir that the Precautions which were taken for the further security of Fort Cumberland and the Isthmus of Chignuton 2 had proved effectual by the Accounts I receiv'd from Lieut: Colonel Wilmott the Commanding Officer there a little before I embarked for this Place which was on the 20th of the last Month; the Lieut: Colonel reported that the Garrison was grown healthy the Works in great forwardness and on the whole that He was in so good a State of Defence as to entertain not the least apprehension of any attempt from the Enemy during the Winter Season, and in the Spring I doubt not but their attention will be too engaged in the defence of their own Territories to meditate any Enterprize against the Province of Nova Scotia for the Preservation and Security of every part whereof I shall nevertheless continue to exert my utmost care and Diligence.

The success of Major Hales' Commission when despatched for Louisbourg (which indeed through mistake I omitted

² See note to letter of December 22, 1756.

¹ The Hon. Robert Monckton was stationed at Halifax in 1753. Two years later he commanded at the reduction of the French forts on the isthmus of Chignecto, and conducted the deportation of the unhappy Acadians. He was made lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia in 1756, and lieutenant-colonel of the Royal Americans in 1757. He commanded a battalion under Amherst, at the siege of Louisburg, in 1758, and served as brigadier-general under Wolfe, at the capture of Quebec, where he was severely wounded. In 1761 he was appointed governor of New York, and, in the following year, commanded the expedition which captured Martinico. He died in 1782.

to mention in my former Letters) consisted principally in this, that the French Ships of War which were seen going into Louisbourg about that time were on their return from Canada to Europe, that the Garrison of Louisbourg consisted of sixteen hundred Troops or thereabouts, that the Fortifications had undergone little or no alteration since the Restitution of the Place in 1749 and that he would not discover any appearance of their designing any attempt either on the Isthmus of Chignuton or against any other Part of the Province.

I am with the highest Consideration and Respect Sir, Your most obedient and most humble servant.

CHAS. LAWRENCE.

PITT TO GOVERNORS IN NORTH AMERICA 1

WHITEHALL Febry 19th 1757.

Sir,

Having, in my Letter of the 4th Instant 2 informed you that it was The King's Intention to send a strong Squadron of Ships of War to North America, I am now to acquaint You, that His Majesty has been pleased to appoint Rear Admiral Holburne 3 to command the said Squadron, and It is the King's Pleasure, That in case any Naval Assistance shall be wanted for the Protection of your Government, you should apply for the same, to the said Rear Admiral, or to the Commander in Chief for the Time being, of His Majesty's Ships in those Seas, who will send you such Assistance, as He may be able to do, consistently with the Service, with which He is charged by His Majesty's Instructions, and you will regularly communicate to the said Commander all such Intelligence, as shall come to your knowledge, concerning the Arrival of any ships of War, or Vessels, having Warlike Stores

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 75. Printed in Col. Rec. of R.I., VI. 39; Goodell, III. 1081; N.H. Prov. Papers, VI. 597; Penn. Arch., III. 96; N.C. Col. Rec. V. 744.

² See letter of that date.

³ See note to letter of April 25, 1757.

on Board; and likewise all such Advices, as may concern their Motions, and Destination, or may, in any Manner, relate to that Part of His Majesty's Service, with which the Commanders of the Kings Ships should be acquainted; And for the better Execution of the Orders sent you in this Letter, you will be diligent, in Employing proper Persons, and Vessels, not only to procure you the earliest Intelligence, but likewise to be dispatched, from Time to Time, to the said Commander of His Majesty's Ships, with such Accounts as you shall have Occasion to communicate to Him.

It is also His Majesty's further Pleasure, that you should use all Legal Methods, whenever The Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Ships shall apply to you, to raise such a Number of Seamen, from Time to Time, as shall be wanted

to recruit the Ships in North America.

I am &c.

W. PITT.

GOVERNOR SHARPE TO PITT 1

PHILADELPHIA. 23d of feb. 1757.

Sir,

Since I came to this Place in Obedience to a Letter which I was lately favoured with by the Earl of Loudoun I have had the pleasure to receive one from yourself dated the 27th of December wherein you are pleased to advise me of Your being appointed One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, and to direct me for the future to address my Letters accordingly. I had the honour also to receive inclosed in the same Letter a Copy of His Majesty's most gracious Speech to His Parliament on the 2nd of December last and Copies of the Addresses which were presented to His Majesty in answer thereto, for these I beg leave to make my acknowl-

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 71. Printed in *Md. Arcb.*, VI. 527. Horatio Sharpe succeeded Ogle as governor of Maryland in 1753. He had seen service in the West Indies, and it was felt that his military experience would qualify him for the post of chief executive of one of the colonies immediately threatened by the French. His brother John had been one of the guardians of the sixth, and last, Lord Baltimore.

edgments, and at the same time to assure you that I shall at all times take care to send you the earliest Advice of everything worthy Your Notice that might occur in the Province with the Government of which I have the honour to be entrusted. At present Things continue in Maryland as they have been for a Considerable time, three Companies of One hundred Men each being supported at the Expence of the Province to garrison a Fort which is building, just beyond our Westernmost Settlements and to patroll on the Frontiers our back Inhabitants are well satisfied and think themselves pretty secure from Danger, No Mischief has been done among them for a long time neither has any Enemy been seen on our Frontiers since the Beginning of Winter. I am now waiting the Earl of Loudoun's Arrival at this Place, where he is daily expected being already returned as we are informed from Boston to New York.

With due respect

I am Sir your most humble and most obed! Servant HOR! SHARPE.

GOVERNOR HARDY TO PITT²

FORT GEORGE 3 NEW YORK, 26th Feb. 1757.

I have the Honour of your Letter of the 7th of December and beg leave to offer my Congratulations on your Advancement to the Office of One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, and to assure You I shall punctually transmit to you every thing that offers from this Government, and all Informations of the Motions of the French I shall from time

² A. and W. I., vol. 71. Sir Charles Hardy was governor of New York from 1755 to 1757, when he was made rear-admiral and sent in the expedition against Louisburg. He was a grandson of the distinguished naval commander,

Sir Thomas Hardy.

¹ Fort Frederick, near the present town of Hancock, was begun in 1756, and is described by Sharpe, in a letter of August 21, 1756, as being "on the North Mountain near Potowmack River about 14 Miles beyond Conegochiegh & four on this Side Licking Creek." Md. Arch., VI. 466.

³ At the southern extremity of the island of Manhattan.

to time receive. I am much obliged to You for His Majesty's most Gracious Speech with the Addresses of both Houses. I have the pleasure to inform you that the General Assembly of this Province have in their Address to me upon the Opening the Session, readily agreed to furnish Supplys for the Support of 1,000 Men required by the Earl of Loudoun, to act under His Lordship in Conjunction with His Majesty's Regular Forces, in the ensuing Campaign.¹

The Transports from Cork with General OFarril's Regiment, and part of the Drafts, are arrived in this and the neighbouring Ports, viz: Eight here, Three at Philadelphia, and one at Virginia. The one that we have no account of has only Drafts on board, one of these Transports, the Europa, was taken the 26 day of December by a French Frigate of Thirty Six Guns bound to Europe from Martinico, who had some days before made Prize of a Privateer belonging to this City, the French Captain finding the Transport in bad Condition, she having lost her Masts some days before, suffered his Prisoner Mr John Pell Master of the Privateer to Ransom her for £500 Sterling, and after taking out fifty nine of the Soldiers, with the Master and three German Officers, and putting on board the Transport eighty of the Privateers Crew, allow'd them to proceed on their Voyage, in this shattered Condition Pell arrived at Philadelphia on the 31st of January.

The Inclosed Extract of a letter to the Owners of the Peggy Privateer of this City, I judg'd proper to transmit to you, as it contains not only some Intelligence relative to the Southern Indians, but of the Motion of the French upon the Waters of the Ohio.² If the Privateer returns safe to this Port, I shall carefully examine the private Letters mention'd by Haddon, also a French Officer he has on board that he

¹ See Jour. of the Leg. Council of N.Y., for February 26, 1757.

² This intelligence was to the effect that one thousand men had been sent up the river from New Orleans to the Illinois country in the summer of 1756, and that the troops remaining in the city were to follow in the late winter or early spring. Therefore the writer suggests that an expedition of some two thousand men might easily capture New Orleans, especially as there is great dissatisfaction there among the colonists. N.Y. Col. Doc., VII. 219.

detain'd out of his Prize, and communicate to you every matter that appears of any Consequence, or worth troubling you with. I have delivered this Information to Lord Loudoun, and shall only make one Observation upon it. That if it be true that the French have made a Peace with the Cherotrees 1 and Shawanese, I hope they have not been able to prevail on them to take up the Hatchet against the English, especially the former tribe; The French throwing numbers of men with Provisions and Stores, into the Mississippi River, may prove very Injurious to his Majesty's Southern Colonies, and that they will attempt this, there can be no doubt. If the Port of New Orleans is left unguarded, the shallowness of the Waters leading into it, would give English Cruisers great Advantages. And I have been inform'd that no Ship or Vessell of any Burthen, or Draft of Water, can go over the long flat Barr, without first taking out the greatest part of her Cargoe. As this is a matter that relates to a Service I have had the honour to be brought up in, I flatter myself I shall have your excuse in observing that the Squadron of his Majesty's Ships employ'd at Jamaica by keeping detach'd Cruisers from it off the Port of New Orleans, or Mouth of the Mississippi River, would render these supplies very precarious, for if they were even to intercept the Indian Presents only, it would be of the greatest Consequence to the British Interest with those Nations. The Baron Dieskau² having recover'd his Health so as to enable him to take his passage in the Packet to England, I judged it best to permit

² Dieskau was a German baron in the French service. In 1755 he led an attack against Fort William Henry, then a new outpost at the head of Lake George. His force was repulsed by the English colonists and their Indian allies, under General, later Sir William, Johnson. Dieskau was badly

wounded, captured, and sent as a prisoner to New York.

¹ The Cherokee Indians dwelt along the Virginia border, and in the lower valley of the Ohio river. Their relations with the English had been fairly satisfactory, up to 1756, but the French successes of that and the preceding year had done much to shake their allegiance. The Shawanoes occupied the upper part of the Ohio valley and the Susquehanna country. They had been induced by Sir William Johnson in a council held in July, 1756, to promise their friendship to the English.

him to leave this Province, and have given the Captain of the Packet directions, to inform the Mayor or Principal Magistrate of Falmouth, that it will be proper for him to acquaint you with his Landing there.

I have the honour to be Sir,

Your most Obedient & most Humble Servant Chas. Hardy.

P. S. Since writing the above I am inform'd the missing Transport is arrived at Antigua.

LORD LOUDOUN TO PITT 1

New York. March 10th 1757.

Sir,

I had the honor to receive your Letters, of December 7th & 22th, on the road from Boston.

Allow me, in the first place, to wish you Joy, on this mark of His Majesty's Favor, he has been pleased to shew you.

Since the Letters I wrote from Boston, the Assembly of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, have agreed, to furnish the proportion I desired of them, to compleat the four thousand Men, I asked from the four New England Governments: New Hampshire lies at such a distance, I have not had any returns from them, but have not the least doubt of their Compliance.

I have already ordered, two hundred of the New Hampshire Men into N.º 4,² for the Security of that place, and all the others, are to be ready to March, by the 25th of this Month.

Since my arrival here, this Province have agreed, to compleat their Men, to one thousand: And the Assembly

A. and W. I., vol. 85. See note to letter of December 22, 1756.

² In 1735 Massachusetts undertook to lay out a series of townships between the Connecticut and Merrimac rivers. They were numbered successively from 1 to 9. Number 4, or Charlestown, N.H., on the Connecticut river, was the frontier post of western New England. Its garrison was expected to guard the country from the upper Merrimac to Lake Champlain.

of the Province of New Jersey, are to meet in a day or two, to receive my demand, of one thousand from them.¹

In Consequence of His Majesty's Orders, and the Information you give me, of a strong Squadron, and Eight Thousand Men, being to be sent out, for carrying on vigorous and offensive Measures; And that I could not be to early, in taking Measures, to provide all requisites, for an Expedition of such Importance, and Extent; And that two thousand of the said Forces, would be forthwith sent to Hallifax; (as I had left Governor Lawrence at Boston, where I had appointed him to meet me, to concert the Military Affairs of Nova Scotia, and who was to return, with Captain Rouse² to his Government.) I immediately dispatched an Express to him, with the Copy of your Letter to him, which You had enclosed to me; with Orders, to prepare for the reception of those two thousand Men, and to acquaint him, with the Orders I had given, to throw in Provisions for them.

I likewise, have given him Orders, to retain & refitt the Transports in which those Troops come. I, at the same time, dispatched an Express, to Major General Abercromby,³ at Albany, directing him, to meet me at New York, to prepare for the Plan of the Campaign, in consequence of the Orders received from You. I have, in a former Letter, acquainted the King's Ministers, that the Recruiting, had not gone on in the Winter, in the manner I had reason to expect, from the Success we had in the Summer, which has been

² A Massachusetts sea-captain who served in the expedition of 1745

against Louisburg.

¹ New Jersey voted five hundred men to serve with Lord Loudoun. See letter of May 11, 1757. *Arch. of N.J.*, VIII. 249.

³ General James Abercromby was a Scotchman who had served with distinction in several campaigns on the continent. In the December of 1755 he was made colonel of a regiment for the American service, and within a few months was promoted to the rank of major-general. He reached America in June, 1756, and commanded a brigade in Loudoun's expedition against Louisburg, in 1757. On Loudoun's recall, in 1758, Abercromby succeeded to the command of the army in America, and immediately organized an expedition against Crown Point. He was defeated at Ticonderoga by Montcalm, on July 8, 1758, and was thereupon recalled to England. N.Y. Col. Doc., VII. 345.

principally owing, to the Country being drained, of that sort of Men who list; and in the Americans, to the want of Sergeants and Corporals, who are fit for the Service. I further acquainted them, with part of Major-General O'Farels Regiment, and the Additional Companies being arrived, with the Purposes, I proposed to apply those Companies to. There sail'd from Cork, Thirteen Transports, with a Store Ship for Halifax, under the Convoy, of the Sutherland and Kennington. — There are arrived, in this Port, Eight Transports, with the Store Ship and the Sutherland. -At Philadelphia, there are arrived three Transports, one of which was taken in her Passage, by the Zephire, a french Frigate of 36 Guns, who took out of her, two Officers, a Voluntier, their Servants and fifty Nine Men; And as they were not able to carry off the remainder, obliged Captain Gneeling, to subscribe a Capitulation, for himself and one hundred and forty Men, not to serve against the French, for one Year; but it appears, only one hundred and twenty-four Men remained in the Ship. Many particular Circumstances, have attended this Affair, of which, only part is yet come to my Knowledge; but I have enclosed such Affidavits, as are come to my Hands, Captain Kneeling being still at Philadelphia.

There is one of the Transports, got into Virginia, from whom, I have yet no return of the Numbers of Men; and it is reported, by a Captain of a Ship, who came from Antigua, that the other Transport, with the Troops, was got in there, some days before he left it. — The Kennington parted from the Fleet, in a Gale of Wind, and put into the Madeiras, as reported from there: She has since, put into Carolina, and is now on her way hither. — In this Situation of things, I have not yet been able, to make any certain return of the Number of Men, which come in those Transports. —

The distribution I first proposed, to have made of the additional Companies, was to compleat Major General O'Farrels; to set three hundred men aside, to compleat the

¹ The centre of British authority in the Leeward, or North Caribbee, group of islands.

Regiments in Nova Scotia; And to put the remainder into

the Royal American Regiment.

But upon receiving His Majesty's Orders, to break the 50th & 51st Regiments, commanded by Major General Shirley, and Major General, Sir William Pepperel; I sent an Order to Governor Lawrence, to draft those two Regimts now at Boston, and to carry them with him, under Convoy of Captain Rouse, to Halifax; then, to turn over the Sergeants, Corporals, Drums, and what private Men might be out a recruiting, including the deserters, (that they might not benefit, by the Regiments being broke) to the Royal American Regiment: And a third Order, to break the Regiments, and put the Officers on half Pay; And to inform them, of His Majesty's further Orders; by this Means, I shall be able, to throw in the greatest part of three hundred Men, reserved for the Nova Scotia Regiments, into the Royal American Regiment, and save the Expence of Transporting those People back here.

I further directed Colonel Lawrence, that if he found any Danger of a Mutiny, in breaking those two Regiments, or in their being drafted, that he should send me an Express, with an Account of it; in which case, I would send Troops, to put that Order in Execution. — I took this precaution, as I durst not run any risk, of losing so many Men, in our present

Situation.

I expect the return of my Express, if it arriv'd before he

sailed; or my Letters returned, if he was gone.

In order to obey the Orders You have sent me, of preparing everything necessary for the Campaign, I am under a Necessity, of forming a plan for it; for the Preparations must differ, according to the Plan, and what is absolutely necessary for one, would be useless for another.

I have formed this Plan, on the Information You have

² Commander of the expedition against Louisburg in 1745. Pepperel

was knighted for his exploits on that occasion.

¹The well-known Massachusetts governor and military commander. Loudoun was sent out to supersede Shirley after the disastrous campaign of 1756.

given me, of His Majesty's Intentions, of sending out Eight Thousand Men, with a sufficient Squadron of Ships of War; and that the Plan I formerly proposed, in a great Measure, coincides, with the Intentions of His Majesty's Ministers; from where I have no doubt, that the intentions are, an attack on Quebec, by the River S! Lawrence; in which case I propose for the Security of this Country, under the Command of M! Webb,¹ first, for the defence of Fort William Henry, and Fort Edward, and the Security of the Magazines at Albany; the '35th Regiment, Commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Otway; and a Battalion of the Royal Americans, with the Provincial Troops: And the four Independent Companies, on the Mohawk River; and I have provided Carriages for their Provisions, and I think, everything necessary for their Support.

As soon as this Letter is finished, I go to Philadelphia, to meet with the Southern Governors, to concert a Plan for their Security; where I leave another Battalion of the Royal American Regiment, under the Command of Colonel Stanwix.

A Plan has been proposed to me, for an Attack from that Quarter, on Fort Du Quesne, but at present, it does not appear to me, to be proper to Execute; but on my return from Philadelphia, you shall receive a full Account, of my transactions there.³

After the above Destination, I hope, by the time we embark, the Troops will amount to five thousand Men, of which, I hope, four thousand five hundred will be fitt for Service; which, Joined with the eight thousand to be sent out, will be sufficient: And in case of accidents happening to those coming out, one thousand, which may be drawn from Nova Scotia; if the Situation of things, at that time, will permit, may be sufficient for the attack of Quebec, if the french are prevented, from throwing in supplies from Europe.

¹ Colonel Daniel Webb, who was sent to America in 1756 as second in command to General Abercromby, then holding the position of commander-in-chief in America.

² See note to letter of February 4, 1757.

³ See letter of April 25, 1757.

I gave immediate Orders, for throwing in Provisions into Halifax, and as I had provided Provisions before, for all the Troops here, I have given Orders, to augment them in proportion, for those that are to come, and they will be ready.

I have kept, and refitted, the Transports that came from Cork; I have ordered Governor Lawrence, to do the same, with those that come to Halifax; and have applied to all the Governors, from Boston to Virginia, both inclusive, to lay on a General Embargo, in order to enable me to provide Transports; with which, Sir Charles Hardy complied, the day I made the Application for this Port; and has been so good, as to take the Management and Direction, of hiring and fitting the Transports, which he understands much better than I do; and leaves me at more leisure, to push on other parts of the Service. — This Port, has already produced, above the half of the Ships wanted; but our Distress lies, in providing Sailors and Water Casks; but I hope, we shall get the better of those difficulties. - This has obliged me, to apply to Captain Falkingham of the Sutherland, to remain here, in order to assist, both in fitting the Transports, and securing the hands, which he has agreed to do; And I imagine, there can no harm happen from it, as his Orders were, to carry home the Virginia Trade, which cannot now go, till we are provided in Transports.1

In the end of your Letter, you have acquainted me, that words shall be inserted, in the Mutiny Act, to take away every doubt, about the right of Quartering extending to

America.2

When I writ on that subject, I was but just arrived, and

¹ The Embargo caused great dissatisfaction among the colonists, and could not be enforced. Nor was it regarded with favor at home. Loudoun was speedily informed that no such hindrance to the export of American corn destined for England could be permitted. *Arch. of N.J.*, VIII. 248.

² In 1755 new clauses were introduced into the annual Mutiny Act, subjecting the colonial soldiers, when acting with regular troops, to the rules of the regular service, and requiring colonial assemblies to provide quarters and certain specified supplies for the regular troops within their jurisdictions. Massachusetts, however, and South Carolina, denied that the terms of the Act extended to the colonies. Hildreth, II. 477.

the Troops were mostly encamped: Since that, I have had disputes to Settle, all over this Continent, in settling the Winter Quarters for the Troops; from whence I find, that the manner of Quartering in England as in time of Peace, on Publick Houses only, will in no shape answer the intent, in this Country; for here, there are few Publick Houses, and the most of them, sell nothing but Spirits, where they possess only one room, in which they sell the Liquor, where Men cannot be Quartered.

Whilst the War lasts, Necessity, will Justify exceeding that Rule; as Troops must be under cover, in the Places where it is necessary to post them, for the Security of the Country, and carrying on the Service; but as soon as a Peace comes, it will, by the English rule, be impossible, to Quarter any Number of Troops in this Country, without a new Regulation: And the only remedy, that occurs to me at present, is adopting the method of Quartering in Scotland, where, for the same Reason, of there not being Publick Houses, sufficient for the reception of the Troops, they are

by Law, Quartered on private Houses.

I must beg leave, to give you one Instance, of the Situation of Quarters here. — When I arrived at Albany, I do not believe it was possible, to have Quartered fifty Men on that Town, on all the Publick Houses in it; and by taking a full Survey of it, I found, That by Quartering on the private Houses, I can, without incommoding them, in the parts of their Houses, in which they live, Quarter fourteen Hundred Men; and for a short time, in case of Necessity, I could Quarter two thousand. I have mentioned this, to shew you, what the Situation of all the Frontier places, in this Country, that are liable to attacks, must be, if Quartering is literaly to be kept to, on Publick Houses only.

The last Paragraph of Your Letter, relates to the noneffective Fund of the Regiments here: I should have chose, to have had it put on the same footing that it is in Europe; I find it necessary for carrying on the Service, and I do

assure you, there shall be no abuse of the Power.

I must now lay before you, a case, in which I must beg

directions how to proceed; which is, that of the Carpenters employed last Year, in building Vessels &c: at Oswego; by such of the Contracts made with them, as have come to my hands, they are to be paid from the day they set out from their Houses, (many of whom, went from Boston and Rhode Island,) till they return, and are paid their Wages.

Most of those men, were taken Prisoners at Oswego, and are now in Canada, and their families starving at home; and as their wages are high, will come to a large Sum of Money. Part of their Wages were paid in the beginning, to their Families, by people employed by M. Shirley; such as M. Livingston here, M. Richmond in Rhode Island; and M. Erwine at Boston; but as those Gentlemen's Accounts are much to large, and in a Situation, that appears unfit for me to meddle with, I have desired they may be remitted home, to be cleared, where M. Alexander, Major General Shirley's Secretary, one of the Partners, in the profits that may arise from them, may be able to clear, what to me seems difficult in them; but in the mean time, those Men's Families are in great Distress; the sum still due, will be large, as is the Clamour, on account of their Distress: but as I am determined, that as far as it is in my Power, I will avoid, intermixing my Accounts with M. Shirley's, and as the partial Payments that have been made to them, make part of those Accounts of M. Livingston &c:, I do not see, how I can interfere with them, without particular Directions.

Before I leave this subject, I must acquaint you, that in consequence of a Letter, I received from M! West,² when at Boston, of October 26th, with a Copy of the Pay Master Generals Memorial, and a Copy of the Sums drawn here, by warrants of M! Shirley, on the Deputy Pay Masters, with directions to enquire into those Warrants, and how to proceed, in regard to those, drawn on Account of the Regiments; I called on M! Erwine, Major General Shirley's Son-in-Law,

Oswego was taken by Montcalm on August 14, 1756.

² This was James West, the politician and antiquary. He was treasurer and president of the Royal Society, as well as joint secretary to the treasury. This last-named office he held from 1741 to 1762.

in whose name many of them were drawn; he has acquainted me, that there were two of those Warrants, which he received the Money for, and paid it into M'. Shirley; and has given me Copies, of M'. Shirley's Acquittances, for the Money received on them, Copies of which I send enclosed. He further Informs me, that he believes, those Warrants, granted to M'. Hutchinson and M'. Temple, the Generals sons in law, likewise, are of the same Nature.

There is likewise, the sum of four thousand Six Hundred Sixty Six Pounds, thirteen Shillings, & four pence granted by Warrant, to Lieutenant Bartman, for recruits raised for the 50th Regiment, who never was employed in the recruiting Service, and who paid that money into Mr Shirley's hands, as soon as he had received it; who gave him a receipt for it, a Copy of which, you have likewise enclosed. I shall only mention, the two Warrants, drawn in M: Charles Apthorpe's Name, together, amounting to twelve hundred and thirty Seven Pounds, as he has declared, he never received any Money on them, but at Mr Shirleys desire, put his name on the back of them, as a thing of Course, but took no Acquittances from him; but, as he informed me, writ by the same Ship, which carried my letter to M! West, of the 28th of January, to Acquaint Mr Shirley, that as he knew, he had received no money on those Warrants, nor that none was due to him, as he had never furnished anything, on the Government's Account, he would retain as much Money of M. Shirley, in his hands, as should indemnify him, till M. Shirley should clear him, from any demand from the Government, on Account of those Warrants:

I must likewise sollicit your favorable reception, of the demands will be made to you, from the several Governments concerned in the Expedition last year, against Crown Point; part of which, have been already transmitted to London, and the others will soon be sent.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

your most obedient and most Humble Servant Loudoun.

GOVERNOR HARDY TO PITT 1

FORT GEORGE.² NEW YORK. 11th March 1757.

Sir,

Since I had the honor of writeing you of the 26th of last Month I received Information by a Master of a Sloop and a Passenger in her from Curaçao, that before they left that Island, a Vessel arriv'd there from Antigua, with a Cargo of Flour and other species of Provisions, notwithstanding his Majesty's late instructions (I have heard) were sent to the Brittish West India Islands, Prohibiting the Exportation of Provisions to the Neutral Islands, from whence the French draw the greatest part of their Supplys. The very extraordinary manner the Owner or Freighter of that Brigantine took to Cover her carrying a quantity of Flour, will be fully explain'd by the two Inclosed Affidavits made before the Mayor of this City.

If this Practice is not soon prevented I fear the Enemy may avail themselves in a great measure of the Distresses I should hope will fall upon them, by a strict Obedience to his Majesty's late Instructions to the several Governors of the American Colonies, I judg'd it a Duty incumbent on me to give You this Information, and shall by the first Opportunity transmit copy's of the Inclos'd to the Governor of Antigua, by which he may see how carefull the Officers of

the Customs of that Port have been.

I have the honour to be Sir

Your most Obedient and most Humble Servant Chas Hardy.

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 71.

² See note to letter of February 26, 1757.

3 One of the Dutch West Indies, off Venezuela, acquired in 1634.

⁴ See note to preceding letter.

GENERAL HOPSON TO PITT 1

(Abstract)

15 Mar: 1757. Gosport.

Informs him that Admiral Holburn has not yet got the Fishing Lines and Cordage etc. — for the use of the troops now going on the Expedition, which, as Hopson assured Pitt (before leaving London) would be of utmost service in North America, and necessary for the health of the Men "who have lived for a considerable time upon Salt Provision." He hopes that his demand, though somewhat unprecedented, may be granted before sailing, if possible — not only Lines but Cordage to use with them. The Agent to the Transports acquaints him that he has been told that, unless they obtain a Board Order (which he supposes means an Order from the Navy Board) they cannot be delivered. Fishing lines and hooks have been delivered, but no lead. Apologizes for troubling Pitt; informs him that they will have to cross an excessively strong wind.

PITT TO GENERAL HOPSON²

WHITEHALL. 16th March. 1757.

Sir

Having received this morning the favour of your Letter of yesterday's date I immediately caused enquiry to be made at the Admiralty, with regard to the Fishing Tackle therein mentioned, & am informed that the Lords of the Admiralty

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 85. Peregrine Thomas Hopson was commander-inchief at Louisburg when that place was restored to the French under the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. He was appointed governor of Nova Scotia in 1752, and held the office for a little over a year. In February, 1757, he was commissioned major-general. In November, 1758, he was placed in command of the land forces in the West Indian expedition. He died in Guadeloupe, on February 27, 1759. Nova Scotia Docs. (ed. Akins), 671.

being of opinion, that the Seynes would not be of any use, during the Voyage, they had not directed any to be furnished to the Transport Vessels, but as you so strongly represent the necessity of them, Orders will be sent, by this Night's Post, to the Navy Officers at Portsmouth, to provide as many as can be got there, with a sufficient Proportion of Cordage for the same, and also a proper Quantity of Lead for the Fishing Lines and Hooks, which have been already delivered; and as the wind has appeared so favourable to day, that it is hoped the Transports will be sailed, Orders will be likewise dispatched to-morrow by a Messenger to Corke, to provide the said things, if possible at that Place.

P. S. to the Duplicate.

I send you herewith a Letter for the Earl of Loudoun, which you will be pleased to forward to His Lordship on

your arrival in America.

[No signature.]

GOVERNOR FITCH TO PITT 1

Norwalk, 16th March, 1757.

Sir

Your Letter to the Governor and Company of this Colony acquainting us that His Majesty has been pleaced to appoint you to be his Principal Secretary of State for the Southern Department has been received with the printed Copies of His Majesty's most Gracious speach and the addresses of the two Houses of Parliament, and am to acquaint you that as we shall address Our Letters to you according to your Direction so the Colony greatfully accept your Kind Assurances to lay them before the King and also beg leave to ask your good Offices in recommending them to his Favourable acceptance and to return our most humble Thanks to our most Gracious Sovereign that he is pleased to make the Succour and Preservation of his American Dominions under

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 71. Thomas Fitch, governor of Connecticut from 1753 to 1757.

the growing Danger to which they are exposed so much the Object of his Royal Care and Solicitude.

The united Resolutions of the two Houses of Parliament in favour of the Protection of these Colonies against the Attempt of the Common Enemy greatly encourages us amidst [the] thretning aspect of Affairs in this Land.

This Colony spirited by these Encouragements warmed with Zeal for his Majesty's Service and most heartily engaged to exert itself with Vigour for the Defence and Protection of the Country and for annoying the Enemy has chearfully undertaken to raise Equip and pay fourteen hundred effective Men including Officers for his Majesty's Service to act in conjunction with the King's Regular Troops the Ensuing Campaign under the Command of the Earl of Loudoun,¹ which Number his Lordship was pleased to demand of Connecticut as their proportion of four Thousand Men required of the four New England Governments. And altho' the Assembly apprehended the proportion assigned for this Colony was greater than their Just Quota of the whole and the Colony is extreamly loaded with Debt, yet they made no hesitation but immediately voted to raise the Number required. Our Troops are now enlisting and will I presume soon be ready to take the Field.

I am Sir, with great Esteem

Your most obedient and most humble Servant Tho^s Fitch.

PITT TO COLONEL FRASER²

Sir, WHITEHALL. March 31st 1757.

The King having been pleased to direct, that the Highland Battalion of Foot,³ under your Command, should be em-

¹ See Col. Rec. of Conn., X. 598.

² A. and W. I., vol. 75. Simon Fraser, colonel of the 2d Highland Bat-

talion, or 63d Regiment of British Foot.

³ Pitt was the first to realize the magnificent military material which could be furnished by the Highlands of Scotland. Upon his assuming office he caused two battalions of Highlanders to be enrolled for the American service.

barked at Corke, for North America, & be landed at Halifax in Nova Scotia; I am commanded by His Majesty to acquaint you therewith, & to signify to you His Pleasure, that, on your Arrival in North America, you are to follow such Orders for your Conduct, as you shall receive from the Earl of Loudoun, or the Commander in Chief, for the time being, of His Majesty's Forces there.

I am etc

W. PITT.

PITT TO COLONEL MONTGOMERY 1

WHITEHALL. March 31st 1757.

Sir,

His Majesty having been pleased to direct that the Highland Battalion of Foot, under your Command, should be embarked at Corke for North America, and be landed at Charlestown in South Carolina; I am commanded by the King to acquaint you therewith and to signify to you His Pleasure, that on your Arrival in North America, you are to follow such Orders, as you shall receive from the Earl of Loudoun, or the Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces there for the Time being, or such Officer as His Lordship or the said Commander in Chief, shall appoint to command the Troops in that Part of North America; And in the mean time until you shall receive particular directions for your Conduct from the Earl of Loudoun, or such other Officer as above mentioned, You are to assist and cooperate with Governor Lyttelton, or any other Governor of the Southern Colonies, in the best manner you shall be able, for the Defence, and Protection of His Majesty's Dominions, according as the Exigencies of War shall require, and you

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 75. Archibald Montgomery, who became Earl of Eglinton in 1769, raised in 1757 the 62d, afterward the 77th, regiment of Highlanders, of which he was appointed lieutenant-colonel. He served under Forbes in the campaign of 1758, and with Amherst in that of 1759. In 1760 he was detached in command of a force sent to chastise the Cherokees. He was promoted to a colonelcy in the regular army in 1762. See also note to letter of June 25, 1760.

will concert with M! Lyttelton in what manner the Troops under your Command may be most usefully employed in those Parts.

I am etc.

W. PITT.

PITT TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON 2

WHITEHALL. March 31st, 1757.

Sir,

In my Letter of the 4th past, I acquainted you with the Orders, His Majesty had been pleased to send to the Earl of Loudoun to detach a Battalion of Regular Forces, consisting of 1000 Private Men, to Virginia, for the Defence of the Southern Colonies, since which Time your Letters of Dec. 25th & 31st: to the Board of Trade, in which you transmit the Intelligence you had received from different Parts, of the Designs of the French to make some Attempt on South Carolina having been received, & laid before The King, & His Majesty having taken into Consideration the Dangers to which your Government & the other Southern Colonies may be exposed, has been pleased to order a Highland Battalion of Foot, consisting of 1000 Private Men, & besides Officers, to proceed to Charles Town in South Carolina; and you will see by the inclosed Copy of my Letter to Lieutenant & Colonel Montgomery, by whom the said Battalion is commanded, the Orders He has received from the King, to assist and Co-operate with you & the other Governors of the Southern Colonies, in the Defence and Protection of His Majesty's Dominions in those Parts, as the Exigency may require, subject, nevertheless, to the Orders, that shall be given him by the Earl of Loudoun, or the Commander

¹ Governor of South Carolina. See the following letter.

² A. and W. I., vol. 75. William Henry Lyttelton, governor of South Carolina from 1756 to 1760, was a descendant of Serjeant Lyttelton, author of the celebrated treatise on English tenures. He was sent from South Carolina to Jamaica in 1760, and in 1766 to the court of Portugal as Envoy Extraordinary. McCrady, South Carolina under the Royal Government, 321.

in Chief for the Time being, of His Majesty's Forces, in North America. You will therefore, on the Arrival of Lieut! Colonel Montgomery, give Him the best Information, you shall have been able to procure, of any Motions of the Enemy; And, in case The Earl of Loudoun shall have sent no particular Directions for His Conduct, you will suggest to Him, in what manner the Troops, under His Command, may be most usefully employed for the Defence of His Majesty's Dominions and the Annoyance of the Enemy.¹

I am &c:

W. PITT.

PITT TO LORD LOUDOUN²

WHITEHALL. March 31st 1757.

My Lord,

Your Lordship will have been already informed by Governor Lyttelton, of the Intelligence which he had received, of the Designs of the French to make some Attempt on the Southern Parts of His Majesty's Dominions in North America, and the King having taken into Consideration the Dangers to which the same may be exposed, has been pleased to direct the Highland Battalion of Foot, commanded by Lieut! Colonel Montgomery, to proceed directly to Charles Town in South Carolina I send your Lordship inclosed copies of the Letters I have wrote on this Occasion, by the King's Command, to Gov! Lyttelton, and Lieut! Col! Montgomery,³ by which you will see the provisional Orders His Majesty has thought proper to give, with regard to the Services, on which those Troops are to be employed, 'till they shall receive any particular Directions from your Lordship, or the Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in North America. The other Highland Battalion, commanded by Lieut. Col: Fraser, is directed to be landed at Halifax. And

² A. and W. I., vol. 75.

¹ South Carolina remained undisturbed until 1759. McCrady, 329 et seq.

³ See the two letters next preceding.

you will see by the inclosed Copy of my Letter to Mr Fraser, that he is only ordered to follow the Directions he shall re-

ceive from your Lordship.

Your Lordship's Letters of the 25th Jan^{ry} & 8th Feb^{ry} from Boston, have been receiv'd and laid before the King; And His Majesty saw, with great Pleasure, the favorable Dispositions in which you had found the Northern Governments.

I am etc.

W. PITT.

THE COUNCIL OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY TO PITT 1

Boston. 8th April. 1757.

Sir,

It is our duty to take the earliest opportunity to advise you of the Death of the Hon^{ble} Spencer Phips Esq^r, Lieutenant Governor of the Province ² who died the 4 Instant.

The Governour being at this Time out of the Province, a greater Share of the Government is now devolved on the Council. We are very sensible that his Majesty's Service requires the utmost attention at this important Juncture; and we shall apply our-selves to discharge the Duties of our Trust with an answerable Zeal and Diligence. —

We have the Honour to be with very great respect Sir Your most Obedient and most humble Servants

Joseph Pynchon
John Otis
Thomas Hutchinson
Stephen Sewall
Benjamin Lincoln
Richd Cutt
W. Lepperell

Jn° Osborne
Jacob Werrdell
Jnº Cushing
Dan¹ Russell
Sam¹ Watts
John Hill
John Chandler
Andrew Oliver

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 71.

² This was the nephew and adopted son of the Sir William Phips who captured Port Royal in 1690 and was governor of Massachusetts from 1692 to 1694. Spencer Phips was lieutenant-governor of the colony from 1731 to 1757.

GOVERNOR HARDY TO PITT 1

FORT GEORGE. NEW YORK. April 10th, 1757.

I did myself the honour to transmit to you in my Letter of the 26th of February last,2 an Extract of a Letter from the Master to the Owners of the Peggy Privateer; She is since arriv'd here, upon examining the Master I find he landed the French Officer with the other Prisoners upon the Island of Cuba, and that he had delivered the Letters I mentioned to you, to a Captain of one of his Majesty's Ships of Warr bound to Jamaica from her Cruise; upon desiring him to recollect the Contents of them, he tells me, that one of them was from a Jesuit to a Priest at Cape Francois,3 informing him that on the 8th of June last, the Grand Convoy consisting of Twenty four large Sloops from 50 to 60 Oars, sail'd from New Orleans with Troops and Alsatian Familys to the number of 4000, Men Women and Children, for the Illenois Country. The Soldiers I conclude to Garison their small Forts and for the Protection of the Foreigners in making Settlements in that Country. This strongly evinces the Necessity of Guarding the Mouth of the Mississippi River, as I have no doubt but many more Germans will be sent there for the like purposes. In examining a large parcell of Letters that was preserved on Board a Prize from Martinico brought in here, I found the Originals of the Inclos'd, as great part of them are Cypher that may contain Intelligence, I send these Copys, and observe by many of their Letters, great Complaints of the Distressed State of their Trade, occasion'd as they say from the many Captures made by the English.

Upon receiving his Majesty's Instructions, to lay an Embargo on all Ships Clearing out with Provisions, but such as are Loading, or to be Laden for his Majesty's Islands or Plantations, I did myself the honour to acquaint the Lords

A. and W. I., vol. 71. See letter of that date.

³ Capital of the French portion of the island of Hayti, or Santo Domingo. Cape François was sacked and destroyed in 1793, during the revolutionary war.

⁴ See note to letter of March 10, 1757.

of Trade, that I apprehended such a Prohibition would necessarily draw the French Privateers upon this Coast to Intercept such Provision Vessels, by which means the Enemy might greatly avail themselves of the distresses that must fall upon them, by a strict Observance of his Majesty's directions in these Provision Colony's; I have great reason to think this suggestion well founded, and that this Coast will be greatly infested by the Enemy's Privateers; Some small Vessels lately arrived, have been Chased by a French Sloop Privateer (not more than twelve Leagues from this Port) and fortunately escaped in a Fog: As the Packet is daily expected, and Transports to come here from Philadelphia and Boston, it has been judg'd proper in a Conference with Lord Loudoun, to arm and fit out a Privateer Sloop mounted with Twelve Carriage Guns, and 100 Men, Seamen, and Soldiers, the first with an Officer to Command her out of his Majesty's Ship Sutherland, she being very foul and but a dull Sailor. This Sloop is now at Sea, and I hope will not only Protect the Trade bound here, but be able to get hold of the Privateer: When the Packet and Transports are arriv'd, and his Majesty's Ship Sutherland leaves this Port, we must loose the use of this Arm'd Vessel, and consequently the Trade of this and the Neighbouring Colonies, consisting chiefly of Provisions for the Brittish Islands, will become a prey to the Enemy. Two or three small Cruisers station'd on these Coasts, would not only protect this Branch of Trade, But might intercept any Smuggling Trade that might attempt going to the Neutral Islands, notwithstanding the Prohibi-

I have the Honour to be, Sir,
Your most Obedient Humble Servant
CHA: HARDY.

¹ By the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, of 1748, certain islands of the West Indies were declared to be the property of the natives. Hence they came to be called the "Neutral Islands." These were Dominica, St. Vincents, Santa Lucia, and Tobago. See in this connection, Commodore Moore's letter of

GOVERNOR DOBBS TO PITT 1

New Bern, 16 April, 1757.

Sir,

My journey to the Northward by appointment of the Earl of Loudoun in February to meet his Excellency at Philadelphia with the Rest of the Governors of the Southern Provinces to consult upon what shou'd be necessary for our several Provinces to grant for our mutual Defence,² whilst the Operations were carried on under his immediate Direction to the Northward, where I was detained until the 27th of March prevented my Receipt of your Letter of Notification of your being appointed by His Majesty Secretary of State for the Southern and American Department, and my earlyer acknowledgement of the Honour of your Letter, the post having passed Philadelphia before my arrival there, and the Dispatches lying here 'till my Return.

This distinguishing Mark of His Majesty's Favour & Acknowledgm' of your capacity, Integrity, and Application in so Critical a Situation of Affairs, and in the Department wherein you will have an opportunity of distinguishing your Talents and Zeal for promoting the Commerce and Naval power of Britain, by exerting it's power in the Defence and future Safety of the colonies of Britain by conquering and for ever getting rid of a faithless cruel and perfidious Enemy, I sincerely and heartily congratulate you upon, and the more as the concurrent Voice of the Nation is with you, and expect by the Assistance of Divine Providence a happy Issue out of our present necessary expensive War, by the future Safety of these Colonies, and the Superiority of our Marine over our Rivals in Naval power and commerce so necessary

A. and W. I., vol. 71. Arthur Dobbs was governor of North Carolina from 1753 to his death in 1765. He was an Irishman by birth, had served in Parliament, and held various civil offices in his native country. He was known to the public by his attempt to discover the Northwest Passage, by his publications on Iceland, and also by his "Account of the Countries Adjoining to the Hudson's Bay." See Col. Rec. of N.C., V. Introduction. Printed in Col. Rec. of N.C., V. 754.

² See letter of February 4, 1757.

for the Safety of the Religion Liberties and Possessions of Britain.

I need not mention to you the Result of our Meeting in the Congress which Lord Loudoun will fully inform you of, who is so punctual and indefatigable in all Things in his sphere of action; I shall only mention that upon my Return, I immediately issued a Proclamation for the Meeting of the Assembly on the 13th of May to enable me to send 200 Men according to Agreement to defend South Carolina in Conjunction with the other Provinces,1 and to raise Troops to defend our Forts and Batteries on the Sea Coast, and on our Western Frontier, and shall endeavour to do my utmost to support and continue the Zeal of this Province in exerting their force in supporting the Cause of their Religion and Liberties; And have at the same time issued a Proclamation for a Day of solemn Fasting & Humiliation, a copy of which I inclose to you. I am extremely pleased with his Majesties Speech and the Addresses you were so kind as to inclose to me, as they testify a Zeal for the Glory and Safety of Britain and Increase and support of it's Colonies.

I shall be punctual in corresponding with you, and in executing all His Majesties commands communicated by you, and informing you of all Things necessary for His Majesties service in this or the neighbouring colonies, and

am with great Truth and Respect

Sir, &c.,

ARTHUR DOBBS.

ADMIRAL HOLBURNE TO PITT²

Sir, Newark in Corke Harbour. 25th Apl 1757.

I have the Pleasure to acquaint you, that in Obedience to Orders from the Right Honble the Lords Commissioners of the Adm'y, after a passage attended with various Winds and

¹ See letter of May 30, 1757, in Col. Rec. of N.C., V. 761.

² A. and W. I., vol. 85. Rear-admiral Francis Holburne received his commission in 1755. In February, 1757, he was promoted to be vice-admiral of the blue. On May 7 he sailed from Cork with a fleet of ships-of-war and

Weather, I arrived here this morning with the Squadron of His Majesty's Ships under my Command, All except One Ship of the Line, a Frigate, & a Bomb: The Two latter has never joyned me, and the Ship by last Accounts was in the Downs. All the Transports are come safe, only some trifling Accidents in their Passage, which I have directed to be set about immediately repairing. When that is done, their Water, and that for the Men of War compleated, with some little provision, we shall be ready to receive the Troops, and shall loose no time after that in putting His Majesty's Orders in Execution; And as I think we are full late already, I hope my Sailing without the Ship, Frigate, & Bomb, will meet with the King's Approbation, tho' Contrary to my Instructions, which are to Sail with twelve Ships of the Line, & Frigates. And if Accidents should happen, I hope it will be looked on as meant for the Good of the Service.

Its now Evening, and I have had the honour of yours by a Messenger of the 17th of March, signifying the King's Commands that in the Sixth Article of my Instructions signed the 19th of last Month, mention is made of Councils of War, and the several Officers of whom they are to be composed are therein recited, and that it is not thereby intended to enjoin me to take the Opinion of a Council before I proceed on any Operations; but only in such Cases wherein the Commander in Chief of the Land Forces, and I shall think the same Expedient, with regard to any joint operations of the Land & Sea Forces.

You have herewith my Additional Instructions signed the 19th of last Month, with regard to the distribution of Booty agreeable to his Majesty's Pleasure signified by you to me: I pray you will be assur'd that I shall loose no time in putting the King's Commands in Execution, and have the Honour to be with the greatest Respect

Sir your most obed! and most humble Servant

Fra: Holburne.

transports, destined for the reduction of Louisburg. Later, Holburne was admiral and rear-admiral of Great Britain, and became one of the lords of admiralty.

LORD LOUDOUN TO PITT 1

New York. 25th April. 1757.

Sir.

As the Plan of operations is not arrived, nor any account of the Port the Squadron and Succours are Order'd to Rendezvous at, come by the Packet, I am under a Necessity of remaining here; with that part of the Troops, destin'd according to the General Plan I first sent, and the particular one I acquainted you in my Letter of March 10th, I should prepare for; but am in great hopes, of the Speedy Arrival of a Ship of War, with Orders & Instructions how to proceed.

And in the meantime, an Incident has happened, which Alarmed me; a French Privateer has appeared off this Port, which gave me apprehensions for the Packet, as that seems to be her Plan; and the loss of Letters now, might

have fatal Consequences.

As there were no Ships of War in this Port, at that time, but the Sutherland of 50 Guns, who has not Water to get out, I immediately applied to Sir Charles Hardy, with whose Assistance, I got one of the Privateers lying in the Port, and got Captain Falkingham to put one of his Lieutenants and Fifty Men on board her, with Fifty Soldiers and proper Officers, and sent her immediately out in search of the Privateer, with Directions, to take all possible care to Protect the Packet.

Altho' this Measure creates Some Expence, I thought myself entitled to do it, as the Loss of the Letter coming by this Packet, may be of fatal Consequence to the whole Operations of this Campaign, as everything here, must be at a Stand, till Orders arrive with the Plan, you have acquainted me is coming to be Executed by me. Whil'st I was at Philadelphia the Enemy made an Attack on Fort William Henry, the Account of which I send you at large, in the

A. and W. I., vol. 85.

See letter of March 10, 1757.

³ At the head of Lake George. Sixteen hundred French under Rigaud made a night attack on March 17. The surprise failed, and after burning the storehouses and the sawmill, the French withdrew. Winsor, Narr. and Crit. Hist., V. 513.

Copies of three Letters, wrote from thence by Major Eyres,¹ who commanded in that Garrison, with the Intelligence he had from two Prisoners he took; and I cannot avoid observing, that the first question the officer asked, that was sent to summons the Place, after several unsuccessfull Attempts made against it, was, whether it was Peace or war? which with them makes no difference in this Country, if they have a Prospect of getting an advantage: by the best information I can get, they came from Montreal; when they set out, they consisted of two thousand and fifty Men; They lost in coming to Tienderoga, three hundred; They were four days in coming, from thence to Fort William-Henry, on hard Snow; whilst they lay before it, there fell a great deal of Sleet, which thawed the Snow so as to make the Woods impassable, and made all the Snow on the Lake, into what we here call Slush, or Snow and Water mixed: I think they could not get back in less than Six days, and had at most but two days Provision, in which case I think, they must have suffered extremely, before they could get back to Ticonderoga, where they could not put them under Cover; So that I hope, this Detachment will give little more trouble this Campaign.

As the Garrison had been troubled with the Scurvy, I had Order'd Lieut. Gen! Otway's Regiment, to relieve them, and Colonel Monro met the Account of the Attack being made on the Fort, on his March; he immediately left his Baggage, and made all possible dispatch to Fort Edward, where he receiv'd the Account of their being retired.

Colonels Gage³ and Burton⁴ followed him directly, with

¹ Of the 44th foot, which suffered terribly in Braddock's expedition. He built Fort William Henry. For an account of his later career, see note to letter of August 5, 1759.

² Fourteen miles south of Lake George, at the Great Carrying Place on the

Hudson.

³ Thomas Gage, better known to Americans as General Gage of revolutionary fame. He accompanied Braddock in 1755 as lieutenant-colonel of the 44th regiment. In 1758 he was made colonel of the 80th regiment, and in that same year he married a Miss Kemble of New Jersey. He served under Amherst in the campaigns of 1759 and 1760. For his later career, see note to letters of August 5, 1759.

⁴ Colonel Ralph Burton was also in Braddock's campaign, where he was wounded. For a more extended notice, see letter of March 29, 1759, and note.

the remains of the 44th & 48th Regiments, and the Highlanders were set in Motion from Schenectady, They all marched without Tents, and lay in the Woods upon the Snow, making great Fires, and I do not find the Troops have suffered; Colonel Gage met the Account of their being retired, at Saratoga, and returned from there with the reinforcements; and the Garrisons are relieved and come to Albany; There are in the Forts now, the 35th; and two hundred of the third Battalion of the Royal Americans, besides the Rangers; and I have ordered up the Independent Companies.

As M! Webb¹ was ill, and not able to set out when the first Accounts arrived, Major General Abercromby sent an Express to me at Philadelphia, and immediately set out to

take the Command.

I cannot enough on this occasion, Commend every Officer, who had either the defense of the Forts or the Command, of the Regiments, for the alertness and Activity with which each behaved in their different Stations, as well as the Behavior of the Men; Those in the Forts, determin'd to defend them to the last, and the Sick crauled out to the Ramparts; and those in the Reinforcements, marched through the deep Snow, and lay in it without Tents, with the greatest chearfulness.

We have likewise an Account, of a body of Seven or Eight hundred French and Canadians, who were at the same time to set out from Swegatchie,² to fall in on the German Flatts ³ on the Mohawk River, which has rais'd a great Alarm, in that part of the Country, who have turned out all their Militia for their defence. We have, on that River, at

¹ See note to letter of March 10, 1757.

² At the junction of the Oswegatchi and St. Lawrence rivers, about sixty miles above Montreal, the French had built a post, known as Fort Présentation (which the English corrupted to Patterson), and also as

Oswegatchi, or Swegatchi.

³ A settlement on the Mohawk, some hundred and twenty miles from Albany, of Germans from the Palatinate. The village was surprised and destroyed by a French expedition under Vaudreuil in November, 1757. Reënforcements sent from Schenectady arrived too late.

Schenectady, and up to the German Flatts, the Highland Regiment upwards of a thousand Men, about one hundred and forty of the New York Regiment, and about that number of the Jersey Regiment, besides the Militia, and Major General Abercromby 1 has moved up the Garrison of Schenectady to be ready for them, and thrown in the remains of the third Battalion of the Americans into Schenectady.—The country thinks they will still come, but I do not expect them at present, but should not be sorry they did, as they have a long March, through an entire Desert Country, cover'd with deep Snow, with Numbers, by all Accounts, much inferior to Ours; so that I think they will not hurt us much,

and will find it very difficult to get back.

I have order'd down, all the Men that are Ill of the Scurvy, into the Garrisons of this Neighbourhood, in Order to Supply them with Vegetables, which cures them presently. And I have Order'd Sloops to be Kept at Albany in readiness, to bring down the three Regiments from thence, as soon as I receive Orders for the Operations of the Campaign, which I can do immediately, with the great Freshes that are in the River, at this Season of the Year; And as that is the Case, I thought them safer there from Desertion, than lying in this Neighbourhood; besides, they are at hand in case of a new Attack, till the Provincials can take the Field, for which the Ground is much to wet where the Snow is gone off: in the meantime I have ordered the New England Troops into Cantonments at Kinderhoek and Claeverick, the one 25 and the other 30 miles below Albany, that they may be at hand; and I place Eight Hundred of the New York Troops, between Albany, and the Forts; The New Hampshire Men, who I order'd to Number 4,2 I have ordered to Fort Edward, when relieved by five hundred men from Connecticutt, order'd there under Lieutenant Colonel Whiting 3 the addi-

¹ See note to letter of March 10, 1757. ² Ibid.

³ Nathaniel Whiting, of New Haven, Connecticut. He was made lieutenant-colonel of the 2d Connecticut regiment in 1755, and in 1758. He served with Abercromby, and went with Amherst up the lakes, and from Oswego to Montreal.

tion to the New Jersey Regiment, are to Rendezvous at

Albany, to be disposed of as Occasion requires.

These are the present dispositions of the Troops above, and Provisions are going up daily, to add to the Stock I acquainted you in my last were there: And have Provided a hundred Carts with four Oxen each, and Fifty Waggons with two Horses each, for moving them at the Stages, where they go by land.

The three Regiments here are quartered, one in this Town, one at Amboy, and the other in the Villages round

this; all ready to Embark.

The Transports taken up in this Port, are ready, and those from Boston are arrived, under the Protection of the Province Sloop; those taken up at Philadelphia are ready, but some of the Masters having applied to the Custom House, on Account of the Provisions for the Troops which were bought in that Province, and I had order'd on board, were stopped, but I have writ to the Governor² to clear up that Point, and I now Expect them in a day or two.

I was obliged to send an Arm'd Vessel with Sailors and Soldiers, to Enforce the Embargo, which will bring those

ships round.

From further Information, of the Situation of the ground about Quebeck, I find it will be necessary to carry some few Cattle to draw the Cannon and Ammunition to the Batteries, on which I have order'd some few more Transports to be taken up, which will likewise be ready in a few days.

As soon as I had dispatched my last Letter to you, I set out for Philadelphia, where I found Governor Dobbs, Lieutenant Governor Denwiddie, Governor Sharp, and Governor Denny Enclosed you have the result of that Meeting, in which the Destination of the Troops is settled, for the first out set, subject to be altered, as Circumstances may vary and require.

¹ In New Jersey.

² See Loudoun's letters in Penn. Arch., III. 137, 141, 145.

Of Virginia.
 Of Pennsylvania.
 See Col. Rec. of N.C., V. 750, and note to letter of February 4, 1757.

The greatest difficulty we met with, was the finding a Fund, for Paying the Troops to be raised and kept up by Pensilvania; Their Assembly had proposed a Bill, the Governor thought he could not pass consistent with his Instructions from Mr Pen; I took all possible pains with the leading Men of the Assembly, to accomodate this difference: The Council, that is Mr Pen's Council of State (for they make no part of the Legislature) represented them very strong, the Members of the Assembly answered their Objections,1 on which I consulted with Lieutenant Governor Denwiddie, as a Man of great Experience in the Affairs of this Country, And as our Opinions agreed, that in the present situation of Affairs and the Consequences that must happen from no Money being granted, it was proper, the Governor should for this time, pass the Bill as it was presented by the Assembly; he did it on a Letter from me, containing my reasons for advising that Measure; a copy of which you have Enclosed.

I hope the Measure will be approved of by the King's Ministers; Necessity was the cause of my interfering in the Dispute, for had the Bill been rejected, the whole of their Troops would have disbanded immediately, and that Province laid open to be a Prey to the Enemy, or I have been obliged to have left more Troops for its defense, than could be spared from the other Plans of Operations for this Campaign. In the Jerseys I have failed, in getting the Number of Men I proposed for the Service this Campaign; I asked for one thousand, but they will give but five hundred 2: I have had occasion to write many Letters on this subject, and as I returned from Philadelphia, I had a Meeting with the Assembly, who came to me in a Body: The pretence they used, was want of Money to support them; I shewed them, that they were a very Popular Province, and that the Numbers I asked was not unreasonable, and that even if it was, that it might be remedied next Year:

¹ For the details of this dispute see Penn. Arch., III. 98, 113 et seq.

² See Governor Belcher's letter of May 16, 1757. N.J. Arch., VIII. Pt. 2, 251.

I shewed them likewise, that in the New England Governments, where, after they had agreed to the Number in General asked from them, but differed in the Proportion each were to furnish to make up that body, which was settled immediately among them, by the proportions I proposed for the present, all being sensible of the Necessity of Unanimity in the Provinces, in the present Situation of Affairs.

That as to their Poverty, the bill itself destroyed that Argument, as in it they raise those Men only to the 15th of November next, (which is a time probably, prior to the Enemy's going into Winter Quarters) and that, for that short Service, they have allowed twelve Pounds of their Currency Bounty Money to each Volunteer, whereas, would they agree to an Impress from their Militia, where Volunteers do not offer, as other Colonies have done, the Money they have provided, is more than sufficient to maintain the Men I have asked from them, for carrying on the Publick Service.

There is another very bad Consequence attends the giving such large Bounties for Enlisting Men for a few Months, which is, the either preventing the raising recruits, for compleating the Troops sent for their Protection from the Mother Country, (to the Expence of which they pay no part) or of raising the Expence of recruiting so high, that the funds cannot afford it.

The real State of the refusal of the Jerseys, tho' they avoided mentioning it to me, is; They have very little Trade, but are supplied with Goods from hence and Philadelphia, and are almost wholy employed in Culture, where each Man lives in great Affluence on his own Lands, and saves considerably every Year, by which they are all Rich; and for that Reason, as they are in General much on a Footing, they will not agree to an Impress out of their Militia, which occasions their giving so large a Bounty.

The reason, I am told, for their refusing the Number, is, that they think the Demand is more than their proportion with regard to New York, but in this they have varied from

their own Rule, for by that, they ought to have furnished

750 Men.

In my demand, I dealt with them as I did with the other Provinces; New York had furnished all last Year, the whole of the Carriages for the Army, even in the middle of their Harvest, and we have been obliged on several Occasions, to march great bodies of their Militia; The Jerseys had furnished nothing, nor met with any part of harassment which War enevitably occasions in the Country where the seat of it lies, nor are they likely to meet with any this Year; besides, the Proportion they have always chose to furnish is below what they ought from their real number of People.

I had a dispute of the same Nature in the New England Governments, who complained the Massachusetts Numbers as I proposed them, when left to me, was below their proportion; but when I shewed them, that besides the Numbers the Massachusetts Bay Government furnished, to make up the Number I demanded in the King's Name, for the Publick Service, they had Eight Hundred Men in their Pay, for the Defense of their own Province, they all agreed I was in the right. . . . The majority of the Jersey Assembly are composed of Quakers . . . who support that Independence on Government, which is deep rooted everywhere in this Country, but particularly so among that set of People; For altho' I have always been a great favorer of the Quakers, I am thoroughly convinced since I came to this Country, that they are very unfitt to be Employed in any Publick Employment: And in this colony they are Judges, Justices of the Peace, and indeed employed in every office; as well as being Members of the Assembly.

In this Province of the Jerseys, many of the Justices persuade recruits, when brought before them, not to Attest, when they cannot prevent them, they grant warrants against them for fictitious Debts, and throw them into Jail; and the Moment the Regiment or Detachment marches, they let them out of Prison. In the Jail of Trentown alone, they have allowed at different times, Eight Prisoners committed for desertion, to Escape, in so much, that I have now five

Actions, order'd to be carried on at the King's Expence,

against the Justices of that Province.

Whilst I am on the subject of the Governments here, it will be necessary to mention, that from their Method of laying on Taxes in this Country, funds will be so anticipated, that little Assistance will be got from them hereafter, if the War continues; for the Taxes which the People pay in this Country, are really so trifling, that they do not deserve the Name: So that if some Method is not found out of laying on a Tax, for the Support of a War in America, by a Brittish Act of Parliament, it appears to me, that you will continue to have no Assistance from them in Money, and will have very little Assistance in Men, if they are wanted, but as this is a digression from my own business, I shall say no more on it.

When I was at Pensilvania, I found the French Neutrals there, had been very mutinous, and had threatened to leave the Women and Children, and go over & Join the French in the back Country: They sent me a Memorial in French setting forth their Grievances; I returned it, and said I could receive no Memorial from the King's Subjects, but in English, on which they had a general Meeting, at which they determined, they would give no Memorial but in French; and, as I am informed, they came to this Resolution, from looking on themselves entirely as French Subjects.¹

Captain Cotterell, who is Secretary for the Province of Nova Scotia, and is in this Country for the recovery of his Health, found among those Neutrals, one who had been a Spie of Colonel Cornwallis, and afterwards of Governor Lawrence,² who he tells me had behaved well, both in giving Accounts of what those People were doing, and in bringing them Intelligence of the Situation and Strength of the French Forts, and in particular of Beausejour:³ by this Man I learnt, that there were five principal leading Men

³ See note to letter of December 22, 1756.

¹ These people were such of the deported Acadians as had settled in Pennsylvania. See a petition setting forth their misfortunes in *Penn. Arch.*, III. 565.

² Of Nova Scotia.

among them, who stir up all the Disturbance these People make in Pensilvania, and who persuade them to go and Join the Enemy, and who prevent them from submitting to any Regulation made in the Country, and to allow their

Children to be put out to work.

On finding this to be the Case, I thought it necessary for me, to prevent as far as I possibly could, such a Junction to the Enemy, on which I secured those five ringleaders, and put them on board Captain Falkingham's Ship, the Sutherland, in order to his carrying them to England, to be disposed of as His Majesty's Servants shall think proper: but I must inform You, that if they are turned loose, they will directly return, and continue to raise all the disturbance in their Power; therefore it appears to me, that the safest way of keeping them, would be to Employ them as Sailors on board Ships of War.

Whilst I was at Philadelphia, application was made to me, from the Governors of Pensilvania, Maryland and Virginia, for Payment of Accounts due for the Campaign 1755; Major General Shirley has paid part of those Accounts, and those stand as part of the disbursments in his time. But they state the Case thus, and I believe it is true; that M! Shirley sent M! Leak the Commissary of Stores, to Philadelphia, to make up and Pay those Accounts; but the Notice for the People to come there, was not given soon enough, for them to Assemble, from the great distance many of them lived at from Philadelphia, & others who had small sums due to them, could not afford the Expence of travelling so far, so that great part of them remained unsatisfied.

As the Accounts M! Shirley had paid, were not laid before

As the Accounts M! Shirley had paid, were not laid before Me, in order to check double demands for the same Services, and as I am very unwilling, to intermix my Accounts with M! Shirley's, I directed the Governors of each of those Provinces, to collect the demands from their different Provinces, and lay a State of the Case before me, and told them, that I should apply for Orders how to proceed on them; being aware, that as part of those Accounts must appear in M! Shirley's disbursments, if they likewise ap-

peared in my Accounts without receiving orders on them, it must have an Appearance of a double Charge. Whilst I am on the Subject of Affairs at Philadelphia; it is necessary to mention, that as the Assembly have appointed Mr Franklin to go to England, to represent their Grievances as they say, first to Mr Pen, and if they do not obtain redress from him, to apply afterwards to the King's Servants.

He will make application for the Price of the Indented Servants Enlisted in the King's Troops, which demand must seem very extraordinary, as the Act of Parliament made last Year, provides a Method of paying for them.¹

But the Case stands thus; the Act was not passed when I left England, and the Situation I found the King's Affairs in, obliged me to go directly into the back parts of this Province as soon as I Landed; when the Act arrived, it was immediately Published and Copies sent everywhere.

Immediately after this, the Assembly of Pensilvania proposed a Bill, to raise Ten thousand Pounds for the King's Use, which was understood to be, to Pay for the Indented Servants that should be listed; This Bill did not pass, as it was formed in a Manner, the Governor did not think himself at Liberty from his Instructions to pass, at the same time the Assembly gave directions, that every Man whose Servants were Enlisted, should desire the Officer who Enlisted him, to give him a Note of the Mans Name and the day he was Enlisted; some of them asked for this, but many others did not; and the whole Officers understood, from the Conversation of the People, that the Assembly were to pay for the Servants, and no Charge to be made on the Regiments, and so likewise did the Masters of the Servants, from their Conversation and behavior.

By the great distance I was at first, in the back Country at the Forts, and then at Boston, equally distant from our recruiting Country, which is principaly in the back parts of

^{1 &}quot;An Act for the Better Recruiting His Majesty's Forces in North America and Preventing Desertions there," received the royal assent on May 27, 1756. See on the dispute about indented servants, Col. Rec. of Penn., VII. 37, 39. Also letter of Secretary Fox to Governor Morris, of March 13, 1756, Ibid. 179.

Pensilvania and Maryland, those things did not come to my

Knowledge till my return from Boston.

As soon as I arrived at Philadelphia, I Enquired of Mr. Franklin, if the Province did intend, as I found the Officers had been made to believe, to Pay for the Indented Servants that should be listed; he told me that they could not afford it, and had no such intention; and that the reason of their desiring the Acknowledgment of the Officer that Enlisted them, was only to found their demand on the Government: I told him that was already Order'd how that should be paid, and desired a List of the Servants, and the demand of the Charge for them; He told me the List was not made up, but promised me a Copy, which I have not yet received. . . .

Whilst I am writing, M! Franklin has brought me, on April 25th, an unfinished List of the Indented Servants, amounting to a demand of £2272 .. 7 .. I. Sterling, and on being asked, in the presence of Major Gen! Abercromby and M! Webb, if ever the Province proposed paying for the

Servants, says, they never did. . . .

This Account unfinished, as he tells me it is as to Numbers, and unfilled up as it is in many Articles, contains all the Servants they have got notice of having been Enlisted, without any date of the Enlistment, from the time of Major General Braddock's Death, for the Regiments in Nova Scotia, and for M. Shirley and Sir William Pepperel's Regiments, (for which last Regiments, not one man has been Enlisted, in that Country, since the Act passed;) as well as the 44th & 48th Regiments, and the other Regiments now here.

I complained to M. Franklin, of the Manner the Assembly had taken, of following out this Measure; in neither following the Method prescribed by the Act of Parliament, by applying to the Justices, and producing the Indentures in the presence of the Officer, that we might see the Publick was not imposed on, in settling the Quota to be paid; And that if they had any just Complaint, against the Recruiting Officers manner of proceeding, they did not apply to me

for redress, whose duty it was to redress them if they had any just Complaint, which he knows they never did, and that the Information I have now, has come on my Enquiry of him.

And that from what I can see by the Account, which I have just looked over with him, it is the Claim of every man that pleased to make a demand in general, without any proof that his Servant was Enlisted; for I find very few Receipts have been asked or given, and no officer called on

to know if he enlisted the Servant. . . .

Lieutenant Governor Phipps, of the Massachusetts Bay, being dead, and the Governor of the Province not being here, the Administration of the Government is fallen to the Council; And by the Constitution of that Government, as I am informed, by Mr Hutchinson, the President has no more Power than any other Member; so that even the Smallest transaction in that Government, must be done by a Majority of the Council, And I am further told, but this I am not so sure of, that fifteen of them must concurr.

This is unlucky at present, as business must go very heavily on in such a Constitution; and I may have occasion

to have many Negotiations with that Province.

I am forced still to continue the Embargo, for I could not have Men to navigate the Transports. In relation to the Transports, I have directed the Agent sent from England, to Contract for them; by which means, the Expence will come directly to the Navy Board, and by that Means save the Expence of remitting the Money here, to the Nation. I am informed by the Contractors Agents, and I see by private Letters to other people, for I have no Accounts of it myself, that the Contractors are to send out by the Fleet, a large Sum in Specie, which is absolutely necessary they should, or it will be impossible to find money for bills from hence, to supply the Sum necessary to carry along with the Troops, for their Subsistence during the Expedition.

This arises first, from the great demand in providing all

things necessary for the different parts of the Army for the Expedition; for the Troops to cover this part of the Country; and those detached to cover Pensilvania and South Carolina.

And likewise from the great Success the Privateers have had, in taking the French Merchant Ships, the Cargoes of which are transported to Europe, to answer the demands they used to have for Money in England, for Merchandizes brought from thence, which makes the demand for bills,

much less than they otherwise would have been.

And likewise, by the Combination of the Merchants, who carry on the Traffick of Money, higher than any other Part of the World, which they are enabled to do, by the Specie having different Values in each Province, and here it is Necessary for me to receive directions, how to Act in a very particular Case; It arises from a Question, put to me by one of the Contractors Agents, whether I would allow

Plugg'd Gold to be receiv'd, or not?

I told him, as plugging of Gold was changing the Value of Current Money, I looked on it as Coinage, and I am sure it is a fraud, And as such, can give no Countenance to it; but as the practise had gone so very far, and as I must probably be at a great distance during the Campaign, I thought it not safe to give a positive Order, not to receive any plugged Gold, as in that case, he might not have it in his power, to supply the Pay Master with other Money, and by that Means, the Service be disappointed, before I returned to apply a remedy to the Evil, but desired he would receive as little plugged Gold for his Bills as possible.

The case of Plugging is, when Gold does not in its Weight answer the Market, the owner proposes to carry it to, he sends to the first Goldsmith, who stamps into it a piece of Metal to give it the Weight desired; the fineness of which,

depends on the honesty of the Goldsmith.

The pretence they falsely use to Justify this, is, that there is no fraud in this when you receive Gold by Weight; for they say, that as some Pieces are above Weight, and others light, they Clip as much of the Heavy as makes up the light

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to the Standard, and add it to it. I shall give you the trouble of but one instance of this, which I had from Mr. Hunter, one of the Agents. A doubloon here, that is just weight, passes for five Pounds twelve Shillings; if it turns the Scale in the least, it passes for five Pounds Sixteen shillings; and the adding of Gold, of the value of one penny Sterling, will make this difference of Value in the Market, so that suppose a man receives for his Bill, One hundred Doubloons of just Weight, by adding to them, Gold to the value of Eight Shillings and four pence, he receives neat proffit, by that Manufactury, Nineteen Pounds Eleven Shillings and Eightpence.

But the evil does not stop here, for now that the Merchants have Manufactured in this Manner most of the Gold in this Country, they begin to refuse it in Payment, by which they will oblige the Publick, to throw in a fresh Supply of unplugged coin by which they will have a fresh Supply

of Coin to manufacture again. . . .

By the Indian Intelligence, from Sir William Johnson enclosed, You will see, that there are Reports, of the People at the German Flatts Negotiating with the French; They are there at a great distance, and still more disobedient to Government, than those that live nearer; but as yet we have not been able, to fix on any of them with Certainty. . . .

The Indians from Canada, have made an Attack on Number 4,2 from where they have killed or carried off about Seven People, and burnt a Mill; This is entirely owing to the People of New Hampshire, in whose Province it is; They agreed with me, on the 7th of February, that two hundred of the Provincial Troops, to be furnished for the Publick Service, should march in a fortnight, to take Possession of the little Fort there; and in the middle of April, when this happened, there was not one of them arrived. Indeed the Snow was extremely deep — Lieutenant Colonel Whiting, of the Connecticut Troops, was then on his March with five hundred Men, to relieve the New Hampshire Men, who

¹ See N.Y. Col. Doc., VII. 234, 278.

² See note to letter of March 10, 1757.

were ordered forward to Fort Edward; he is now there, but I have heard nothing of the New Hampshire Men as yet. — When Provincial Troops are out of Sight, they move very slow, and the distances are so great, it is late before I can come at Intelligence of their Motions, or what retards them.

I shall have an Opportunity, of writing to You, again immediately; I shall here finish this Letter; and am, with the greatest Regard and Esteem, Sir,

Your most Obedient and Most Humble Servant

Loudoun.

GENERAL HOPSON TO PITT 1

Cork. April 28th 1757.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you that I arrived at the Cove on Monday last, with the Squadron of His Majesty's Ships, & Transports under the Command of Vice Admiral Holburn, and the next day I came to this place where I took upon me the Command of His Majesty's Troops, who are under Orders for Imbarkation. The necessary Orders are given for Regulating & Proportioning the Provisions on Board the Several Transports, & for compleating their Water; as likewise for Repairing some small Damage they received on the passage; in Order for their being fit to Receive the Troops, & when that is done, no time will be lost in Embarking Them so as they may be ready to proceed upon Executing His Majesty's Commands with all possible Expedition. And further, as by your Letter of 19th Febry last, wherein you signify'd to me That "Altho' by the Instructions which His Majesty was pleased to sign for me that Day, I was directed to take care that the Troops under my Command should be properly & Expeditiously Imbarked at Cork, together with Their Arms, Tents & Camp Necessaries & that You was Commanded to Signify to me the

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 85.

King's Pleasure, that in Case the Transport Vessels should be arrived at Cork and ready for the Reception of the Said Troops, before all the Camp Necessarys could be compleated, I should not, on that Account, defere the Embarkation of the Men, and that proper care should be taken to send to Halifax as soon as possible such part of the Camp Necessaries as should be left behind. I must observe to you, that in order to ascertain what Tents and Camp Necessaries, for the Troops, were aboard the Transports, & the Several Species of them, That for your Information & mine, I might be Acquainted with what should appear to have been left behind, in order for such Part being sent after the Troops to Halifax; I have found myself under the Disagreable Necessity, of ordering these things (which were Embarked at Portsmouth) be inspected and Report forthwith to be made to me accordingly, which I shall transmit to You as soon as I can have it made to me & hope it may be before I am obliged to Close this. I have this day given Orders for the Baggage of two Regiments, to be Embarked tomorrow, it being Judged Adviseable first to get that aboard, before the Men are to be Embarked. Except the Execution of all necessary Orders previous to the Embarkation; Nothing but the Affair of the Camp Necessaries, having been so confusedly packed, sent Down to, & Embarked at Portsmouth; has delayed my Embarking the Troops, however, I am in hopes that Obstacle will soon be removed, & that the Troops may all be aboard in a few days, and ready to proceed, tho' I still want the Reports before mention'd. I cannot but be persuaded I should have been greatly Blameable had I Embark'd the Troops before taking the precautions I have done, towards knowing what Camp Necessaries there are for the Troops, & what are wanting lest, among the latter, such as are most material should be a part of them, which might have been of the Outmost ill Consequence to the Expedition.

Now, Sir, after using all my Endeavours towards getting everything Regulated in the best Manner, so as that the Service we are intended for may meet with no kind of

Obstruction when we gett to the Place of our Destination, yet it is possible, (notwithstanding my thorough Zeal for His Majesty's Service & all I have done to effect it) that for want of the Reports relating to the Camp Necessaries turning out as I wish they may; which is Satisfactory, I say, still I may [be] disapointed & at last the Service be impeded, however I trust that you will honour me in doing me the Justice to assure the King of my most sincere Endeavours towards Executing His Majesty's Commands in the best Manner I am able so as my Conduct may meet His Royal Approbation.

I am with great regard Sir, Your most Obedient and most Hble Servant J. Hopson.

LORD LOUDOUN TO PITT 1

New York 3.d May. 1757.

Sir,

I had the Honour of receiving your Letter of February

4th, on the Evening of May 1st . . .

I am extremely happy to find, that the preparations I have made, and the plan I had prepared for in a great Measure, Co-incides with the Orders I have now received; and shall not repeat them, as you have an Account of the Steps I had taken, and was pursuing, in my Letter of March; and have a further Account of them in my Letter of April.

On the 2d of this Month, I sent an Express, with Orders, for the three Battalions at Albany & Schenectady, immediately to embark in the Sloops, prepared for bringing them here; And dispatched a Sloop of War to Halifax, to acquaint the Admiral who Commands, with the forwardness we were in here, to Join him at Halifax; and that Sir Charles Hardy was to take the Charge of the Embarkation

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 85.

² See letter of March 10, 1757.

³ See letter of April 25, 1757.

from hence,¹ for the Convoy of which, he had the Nightingale and Kennington of Twenty Guns each, with the Vulture and Ferret Sloops of War; and likewise sent the necessary Orders, to Lieutenant Colonel Lawrence,² and the Commanding Officer of the Troops at Halifax; and that I had likewise Order'd the Contractor, to send as large a Supply of fresh Provisions as possible to Halifax, and had writ to the People of Boston to do the same; but the winter has been so extremely severe and lasted so long in this Country, that I am afraid, for some time our Supplies of that Sort will be but small.

I shall say nothing of the day we shall sail, as I shall have a Packet to carry to Sea, from there to Acquaint you, that we are sailed.

As the preparations made here for the Expedition are all that depends on us, for either of the places proposed, to be attacked, Sir Charles Hardy and Major General Abercromby Agree with me, to leave the further fixing of the Plan, till our arrival at Halifax, and meeting with the Admiral there with the Succours, and where we may have an Account, of what Strength the Enemy may have received this Year from Europe. You have likewise, in my former letters, the Preparations I have made, for the Defense of the North & South parts of this Country, during our Absence on the Expedition. . . .

Governor Denwiddie, apprehended no great attack on Virginia, except it should come by Fort Cumberland.⁴ As the distances in this Country are so great, and the Winters render the Roads so difficult, I was obliged at the close of the Campaign, to go to several Provinces, to Settle the Quotas each were to furnish, which I could not have done without I had been present, both in the Northern and Southern Divisions; for there are so many Difficulties to remove in

¹ Hardy and Loudoun sailed from New York on June 20. Holburne did not arrive at Halifax until July 9.

² Governor of Nova Scotia.

³ Louisburg and, if possible, Quebec.

⁴ The old trading-post of the Ohio Company. It stood near the point where Wills Creek enters the Potomac, and was fortified in 1755.

this Country, in order to set things in Motion, that being on the Spot is necessary at present; how that may be hereafter, I cannot say, but I hope things may go smoother.

As this was the Case, I have no great hopes of the Provinces raising any more Troops, this Season, than what were then Agreed to; which was the reason of my principaly insisting with the Northern Provinces, on their Militia; as they can easily, if they are in Earnest, Collect on any Emergency, in the Upper part of this Province, and in the adjoining parts of Massachusetts and Connecticutt, in Case of any Attack by the Mohawk River, or at the Forts a great Number of the Militia, on a short Notice.

The Militia are the real Inhabitants; Stout able Men, and for a brush, much better than their Provincial Troops, whom they hire whenever they can get them, and at any Price; but then, the Militia cannot be detained any time in the Field, but will return home: whilst they stay in that back Country, they insist on being maintained at the King's Expence, which is necessary, as they cannot supply themselves, the Country producing Nothing; but this is much Cheaper, than the maintaining a much smaller number of Provincials the whole Campaign, where the General Service can be carried on without them.

In my Letter, to the Southern Governors, in this Article, I have acted on the same principle, except to Pensilvania, where there is no Militia Law, except in some of the Counties where they have partial One's.¹

I had a further Point to guard against, in the Southern Governments, which was the Expence of maintaining their People with Provisions, as every Man in this Country, would if possible, throw the whole Expence on the Publick,

¹ In 1755 an ineffective militia law was enacted. Quakers were exempted, but it was declared lawful for those who wished, to form themselves into companies and elect officers by ballot. This was disallowed by the Crown, and in 1756 the colony passed a law for "Regulating the Officers and Soldiers commissionated and raised by the Governor for the Defence of this Province." Minutes of Council of Penn., January 13, 1757. The Lower Counties, on the Delaware, where there were fewer Quakers, raised their own militia.

and save the Province from being at one Shilling Expence for the Common Cause.

The Northern Provinces had been so used to be fed with Money, that I was not able to set them in Motion, without maintaining all their People, on the terms of the Letter from the King's Minister; besides, they are all serving out of their own Provinces, except the New York People, who are quite

up in the back Country.

When I came to settle with the Southern Provinces, who had not been Employed so much in Expeditions, I settled with them, that the King should not be at the Expence of maintaining their People, but such as I marched out of their Provinces, which are the Detachments that go to South Carolina; that all the others, should be maintained by their respective Provinces, as they were Employed Solely for their Defense; And I further insisted, that Pensilvania, and Virginia should be at the Expence of transporting their Quotas to South Carolina, and so it stands at present; but I am far from being sure, that I shall not have such demands for some of these Expences, that I shall be under a necessity of complying with some of them, in order to carry on the Service, but in order to prevent this as far as I can, I have enter'd a little into the Explanation of your Letter in relation to the things their Troops are to be supplied with. Enclosed, you have Copies of both those Letters.

I have received the Accounts of the Expences of last Campaign, from the Massachusetts Bay, for their Quota, I have had them Examined by M. Mortier, one of the Deputy Pay Masters; I have had little time to look into them; but from the Situation I am now in, and the Connections I must have with the Provinces, it is necessary for me, to sollicit

¹ See Pitt's letter of February 4, 1757. Fox had written (March 13, 1756) that the Crown would be responsible for "magazines of stores and provi-

sions of all kinds." Col. Rec. of R.I., V. 485.

On August 19, 1757, after the capture of Fort William Henry, a bill was passed "to enable the Governor to draw out and march One Thousand Men, Part of the Troops of this Province, or the like Number of Volunteers, to be raised for the Assistance of the Province of New York." *Ibid.*, August 19, 1757.

56

your Protection and favor to the several Provinces, who send

by this Packet, their Claim to be laid before you.

And at the same time it is necessary, in case it should be thought proper to make them any Allowance, to make a few observations on those Accounts, because if they are passed as they stand, they will be a Precedent hereafter, and more or less affect the Publick, whenever they shall

think proper to Employ Provincial Troops.

Under the Article of Artillery, they have included Tents, Drums, Colours, All Camp Necessaries, Platters, Pans, Keggs and a number of other things they have been in use of furnishing their Troops, unknown in a regular Army; Those things, I have advised striking out of the Accounts, and have insisted, on their furnishing their Troops with them this Year, at the Expence of the Province, as I do not think them entitled to them from the Crown, on the words of the Secretary of States Letter; And I think it the more necessary to be on my guard in all claims of this Sort, because when once settled, there is no bringing it back again; and it is the constant Study of every Province here, to throw every Expence on the Crown, and bear no part of the Expence of this War themselves.

They have consulted me in relation to this Account, and I have given them my advice fairly; but in many Articles they have not followed it: — I objected against the Provisions and other things, which were remains of what they had provided for the Campaign in the Year 1755, when Sir William Johnson commanded; as the different Provinces had that Year, one hundred and fifteen thousand Pounds from the Publick, which I think paid all that Expence.

There is at the end of the Account, a long List of things, attested to be at Albany, by the Chairman of the Committee, which he signed on the return of the Commissary, and really was the Case so far as he knew: but the truth is, another Commissary of theirs, at Albany, has shipped off a Sloop-

load of them, which are gone to Boston, without consulting with me, to know what part of them might be usefull to the Service, or giving any return, of what is gone, and what is left.

In the Account now to be presented, there is charg'd every Sum they have Expended, and they propose to send by another Packet, an Account of what they have receiv'd, arising from the Provisions delivered over to the Contractor, which I never could bring them to settle till now, that they are arrived in the hurry of the Embarkation; but it shall be done, and I shall see that he Pays a fair Price.

They then propose, selling the damaged or useless Stores, which two Sums they intend to give Credit for; but I do not see, how I can give any Directions, in relation to the disposal of those Stores, till I am informed, what the Intentions of the King's Ministers are, as to Paying these demands.

I am, with great Regard and Esteem, Sir,

Your most obedient and most Humble Servant Loudoun.

GOVERNOR HARDY TO PITT 1

FORT GEORGE. NEW YORK. May 6th 1757.

Sir,

By his Majesty's Sloop Ferrett who arriv'd the first day of this month, I had the honour to receive your Letter, bearing date the 4th February last; The Assembly of this Province had sometime since granted Funds for providing and furnishing one Thousand Men, the Quota demanded by Lord Loudoun, and as they were raised and march'd to Albany, and put under the Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces, I had a meeting with Lord Loudoun upon the receipt of your Letter, and his Lordship having some doubts if the additional numbers of Men could be

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 71.

² See letter of that date to Governors of Northern Colonies.

rais'd, to make them equal Numbers to what this Colony furnished last Year, considering the Advanced Season, he thought it best not to make a Requisition of them, but desired that proper Orders might be given to the Militia of the Upper Parts of this Province, to be in a readiness to march to the Aid and Assistance of the Forces under the Command of Major General Webb,1 or the Commander of his Majesty's Forces in that Quarter, as he could better rely on such Assistance than the uncertainty of raising Men at this time. The Directions his Lordship desired might be given to the Militia are Standing Orders which I have very lately repeated to their Commanding Officers, and have no reason to expect his Lordship or the Commanding Officer of his Majesty's Forces at Albany can be disappointed in their Assistance, as we have experienced their readiness and Zeal upon many occasions: His Majesty's Affairs here being thus circumstanced, and Lord Loudoun not thinking it necessary to make any further demand of Men from this Province, I have not called the Assembly, to require any further Aids, but shall hold them Adjourn'd to short Periods, in Case his Majesty's Service should make it necessary for them to meet.

By the Ferrett I had the honour to receive Orders from the Lords of the Admiralty to hoist my Flagg, and repair to Halifax and follow such orders and directions as I should receive from Rear Admiral Holbourn. I am now preparing to leave this Province, and expect by the Packet to receive his Majesty's Permission to resign this Government: We have been long preparing Transports for the Forces Lord Loudoun proposes to draw from hence to join the Succours from Europe, as this Fleet is of the utmost Consequence, and the Admiralty could not be inform'd of the preparations making here, at the time my Orders bear date. I have thought it for his Majesty's Service, to collect all the Strength I can for the greater Security of the Convoy, and to delay my own Sailing till the Troops are embarked, and to proceed

¹ See note to letter of March 10, 1757.

myself with them to Halifax, I have sent an Express there to meet M. Holbourne to inform him of my Intentions.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most Obedient Humble Servant Chas Hardy.

GENERAL HOPSON TO PITT²

Sir, Newark. Corke Harbour. May 7th 1757

I did myself the Honour to write to you the 28th of April,

which I hope you have received.

The Troops are all Embarked, The Last of Them got aboard Thursday night. We are unmoored & the Admiral intends sailing this day. As to the Camp Necessaries I soon found that the several Regiments were so near being compleat in that particular as to be fit to take the Field. The inspecting into those things has caused no delay whatever, as it was done while the Transports were shifting their Provisions in order to be ready to receive the Troops aboard, for we began Embarking the Baggage the day that the Agent for the Transports reported them to be so, & it was followed by the Troops who were all Embarked in three days. By Order from the Government of Ireland, we have had deliver'd to the Several Regimts for the Expedition, 587 Draughts from four other Regiments in the Neighbourhood, in order to be Encorporated, which was done, & I Embarked them with their Respective Regiments they were put to, without retarding the Embarkation one Moment: This Morning arrived His Majesty's Ships, Invincible, Nassom, Defiance, & Mortmahon. I am Sir,

Your most Obed! & most Hble Servant

J. Hopson.

ADMIRAL HOLBURNE TO PITT 3

Sir, Newark in Corke Harbour. 7th May. 1757.

I have the Honour to acquaint you that the Troops are all embarked, the Transports come down the Harbour,

¹ See note ¹, page 54. ² A. and W. I., vol. 85. ³ A. and W. I., vol. 85.

And Everything is in readiness for sailing, Which nothing but the Wind coming more Southerly prevented our getting

out this Afternoon, As I fully intended.

Three Ships of the Line, & a Frigate join'd us in the morning, makes us in all fourteen Sail of the Line, a Frigate, Two Sloops, a Fire Ship, & a Bomb: Another Ship of the Line, & a Bomb is still wanting, that was design'd for us, who I shall leave Orders for to follow, As I had for those that came in today, being determin'd not to have staid for them, as the Season was so far advanced; which has not been in my power to help. I beg you will be assur'd that I shall make All possible Dispatch in pursuance of his Maj'y's Commands. and am with great respect Sir,

Your most obed! and most humble Servant

Fra: Holburne.

Its now the 8th, 5 A.M: The Fleet is getting under Sail.

JOHN OSBORNE TO PITT 1

Boston. 10th May. 1757.

Sir,

We had the honour of your Letter dated Whitehall 4th February, which by reason of the Death of the late Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of the Province, fell into the hands of the Council, upon whom, by virtue of the Royall Charter, the Administration of the Government is now devolved.²

The great concern shewn by His Majesty for the Safety and Protection of these Colonies, and the Resolution he has been pleased to take of acting with the greatest Vigour in Offensive Measures against the French in these Parts fills our Hearts with Gratitude to the best of Princes, and engages us to exert ourselves to the utmost of our Strength and Abilities in support of his Majesty's Rights.

This Government although labouring under an almost insupportable Load of debt; yet ever relying on his Majesty's

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 71.

² See letter of April 8, 1757.

paternal goodness; had some time since agreed to raise Eighteen Hundred Men, being the Quota proposed to us by his Excellency the Earl of Loudoun for the ensuing Campaign under his Lordship's Command: which Men, a very few only excepted, are already marched for Kenderhook in the Neighbourhood of Albany. Besides these the Government have Seven Hundred and Ten Men in their pay employed in the several Forts and Garrisons and in Scouting Parties: and Two hundred and Ten Seamen in two Armed vessells lately built for the protection of Our Trade and Fishery. The Council have likewise given Orders for the Militia of the Province to hold themselves in readiness to march to any Parts which may be invaded or attacked by the Enemy, or which may be threatned therewith immediately upon receiving notice of the Apprehension of danger, and as long as the Administration continues in their Hands, they shall give that constant Attention to His Majesty's Service, which the present critical Conjuncture of Affairs demands of them.

I am with the greatest Respect, Sir, Your most obedient very humble Servant John Osborne. President of the Council.

GOVERNOR BELCHER TO PITT 1

Eliza Town (N J) May 11, 1757

Sir,

I have the honour of yours of the 4: Febru^a last, thro' the Care of Sir Charles Hardy, Governour of New York, and which came to my hands the 6. Inst, and I have re'd the same with close Attention; I observe with great Duty and Gratitude, the King's Paternal and Tender Care of His good Subjects and Colonies of North America, and that he has come to a Resolution of acting with the greatest Vigour, the insueing Campaign.

In Obedience to His Majesty's Order I summoned the

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 71. Printed in N.J. Arch., VIII. 248.

Council of this Province, and laid before them your aforesaid Letter, and asked their Advice and Opinion thereon, Copy whereof I have the honour to inclose to you, and In consequence of it I have summoned the Council and Assembly to meet me here as soon as possible, when I shall press them in the strongest Manner to comply with the Contents thereof, & so to answer His Majesty's just Expectations from this Province, But I must observe to you that at a late Session, the Assembly granted five hundred men for the Service of the insueing Campaign, over and above what might be necessary for the immediate Defence of this Province, and they are to join the King's Troops to be under the Command of the Earl of Loudoun, to act as he shall judge most conducive to the Service in general and this Number is the most the Assembly have raised during the War, altho' Lord Loudoun demanded as their Quota for this Year One thousand men, but they could not be persuaded to come into it, and I did all in my Power for their Complyance and so did Lord Loudoun himself urge the Assembly to do it, but since they did not his Lordship writes me it wou'd be too late for this Campaign for them to go about it now but wou'd have this Deficiency supplyed by the Militia of this Province upon any extraordinary Emergency, and which I shall endeavour to do in the best manner I can.

I hope all the King's Colonies will exert their utmost Endeavours to second and strengthen the Operations against the French, and the more especially since measures are taken for laying up Magazines of Stores and Provisions of all Kinds at the Expence of the Crown, and I say I shall use all my Influence with the Council and Assembly of this Province, for the Execution of these His Majesty's Commands.

I have the honour to be with great Respect and Deference,

Honourable Sir,

Your most obedient & most humble Servant

J. Belcher.

¹ The Assembly agreed to allow "a Great Body of Militia" to be sent to the seat of war if necessary, and to raise one hundred and twenty men for the defence of their own frontiers. N.J. Arch., XVII. 103, 111, 112.

GOVERNOR HARDY TO PITT 1

FORT GEORGE. NEW YORK. 13th May. 1757.

Sir,

By the Harriot Packet that arrived here the 11th Instant, I had the honor of the Duplicate of Your Letter (the Original not yet having come to my hands) of the 19th February last, and shall observe your directions in applying to Rear Admiral Holbourne for any Naval Assistance this Province may stand in need of for its Protection, And send to him all such Intelligence as shall come to my Knowledge concerning the Arrival of any Ships or Vessels of Warr with Stores, with all such advices that I can obtain of their Motions and Destination.

The employing proper Persons and Vessels for procuring such Intelligence, and to send it to him from time to time, must be attended with some difficulty, as I have no money in my hands, nor Power to draw for any, for rewarding any such Persons I shall employ, or defraying the Charges that must attend the Dispatching any Vessels to the Commander of His Majesty's ships.

I shall take care to leave your Letter with all Others that are proper, with the Lieutenant Governor, when I leave this Province with the Fleet of Transports for Hallifax, which I

hope will be soon.

I have the Honour to be, Sir, your most obedient Humble Servant

CHAS HARDY

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO PITT3

WILLIAMSBURG. May 14th, 1757.

R't Hon.,

I did myself the Honor to write you from Philadelphia, which I hope came safe to your hands. In that Letter I

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 71. ² See letter of February 19, 1757.

3 A. and W. I., vol. 71. Printed in Dinwiddie Papers, II. 620.

Robert Dinwiddie, lieutenant-governor of Virginia from 1751 to 1758, had previously held the position of collector of customs in Bermuda, and that

requested the favor of you to obtain His Majesty's Royal Leave to resign my Governm't to go to Britain for Recovery of my Health, which is so much impair'd that I can't discharge the Duties of my appointment in such Manner as the present Exigency of Affairs requires, and I now repeat the same Desire and humbly entreat Your Interest to obtain it. No doubt Lord Loudoun wrote the Dispositions he had form'd for Protection of the Southern Colonies during the Time he was executing the operations agreed on to the Northward. In consequence thereof I have order'd 200 Men to be transported to South Carolina for their Assistance, being apprehensive that the French intend to invade that Colony from Mississippi, and I shall send 200 more as soon as I can recruit them. We have now near 400 Indians from the Catawbas, Cherokees, Tuscaroras, Sapones and Nottaways, which are order'd to our frontiers to proceed in Parties with some of our People a scalping and to discover the Motions of the Enemy. This is a barbarous Method of conducting War, introduced by the French, which we are oblig'd to follow in our own Defence. The Assembly of this Dominion is now sitting. I give You the Trouble of a Printed Copy of my speech and their Addresses to 1 me, by which You may observe they are in pretty good Temper to vote Necessary Supplies for His Majesty's Services, and I shall do all in my Power to keep up their Spirits for that Intent. Our People are much uneasy at the great Charge they are at in supporting our Regim't, maintaining Cloathing and giving Presents to the many Indians now here, and as they conceive the Indians are for service of the whole Colonies, they complain that they shoud bear the whole Expence. I have a Letter from Lord Loudoun of the 28th Ult', but he does not men-

of surveyor-general of customs of the southern ports of America. In 1743 he was given a special commission to investigate the customs administration of Bermuda. From 1749 to 1751 he appears to have led the life of a London merchant, engaged in colonial trade. His energetic administration of the government of Virginia is well known.

The enclosures contain general assurances of the assembly's "ready and cheerful concurrence in every measure conducive to these great pur-

poses."

tion the Arrival of the Forces from Britain, though I hope before this they may be arrived, as the Season for taking the Field is greatly advanced. His Lordship was pleas'd to lay an Embargo on all the Shipping as far to the Southward as this Colony. I lately had a Letter from him that he did not want any Ships from this, and that he had Sailors sufficient to Man the Transports. Our people were very uneasy at the long Continuency of the Embargo. The Assembly address'd me on that Subject; Copy thereof I here enclose You. I consulted with the Council thereon, and they were unanimous in Opinion, that it was absolutely necessary to take it off, which I, after many Perswasions and Petitions from the Trade, did venture to take it off, and I hope, for the above Reasons this Step will meet with Approbation. This Colony and Maryland are very ill protected, having only one 20-Gun Ship on this Station, and she is now employ'd by Lord Loudoun's Orders, in convoying Forces and Stores to South Carolina. This I think my Duty to represent to You, hoping that on Application to the Admiralty, they will send some more Ships for Protection of the Trade and these two valuable Colonies. I know nothing further to trouble You with at this Time, than to assure You with great Deference and most humble Respects, I remain, Right Hon'ble,

Your faithful and most h'ble serv't.

[No signature.]

GOVERNOR BELCHER TO PITT 1

Eliza Town (N J) May 16: 1757

Sir,

The inclosed is Duplicate of what I wrote you the 11: Inst since which I have received the Honor of yours, of the 19: of Februa last and take particular Notice of its Contents, and I shall duly put in Practice his Majesty's Orders therein as far as shall be in my Power and in that of this Government. I see His Majesty has been pleased to appoint rear Ad-

A. and W. I., vol. 71. Printed in N.J. Arch., VIII. 251.

² See letter of that date.

miral Holburn to Command the Squadron of Ships to whom I shall apply for any Naval Assistance if it shoud be wanted for the Protection of this Government & I shall take Care to Communicate to the said Commander all such Intelligence as shall come to my Knowledge concerning the Arrival of any Ships of War or Vessels having Warlike Stores on Board, and likewise all such Advices as may concern the motions, or may in any Manner relate to that Part of His Majesty's Service, with which the Commanders of the King's Ships shoud be acquainted.

As Rear Admiral Holburn with his Ships will be at a great Distance from this Province I dont expect any Application from him for Seamen, yet if he should very few if any can be raised in this little inland Province in which there is little

or no Navigation or Trade.

I have the honour to be with great Respect and Deference, Honourable Sir,

Your most obedient & most humble Servant

J. Belcher

GOVERNOR LYTTELTON TO PITT 1

Charles Town. 24 h May. 1757.

Sir,

I have had the honour to receive your Letter of the 7th of December, acquainting me that His Majesty has been pleased to appoint you His Principal Secretary of State for the Southern Department in the room of Mr Fox — upon

which event I beg leave to congratulate you.

The Sentiments expressed in His Majesty's most Gracious Speech and the Addresses which both Houses of Parliament have presented in Answer thereto cannot fail to give the greatest Satisfaction to every well wisher of this Country and the Paternal Sollicitude which the King is pleased to declare for the Wellfare of His American Subjects ought in a particular Manner to excite in their Minds the most grate-

full Sense of His Goodness and animate their endeavours for

his Service in the present most Critical Conjuncture.

I have addressed two Letters to the late M. Secretary Fox, one whereof bears date the the of September and the other the 20. of November.

I am with the greatest respect and attachment Sir, your most obedient and most faithfull humble servant.

WILLIAM HENRY LYTTELTON.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR ELLIS TO PITT 1

SAVANNAH IN GEORGIA. 25th May. 1757.

I have just had the honour of your letter of the 7th December, signifying His Majesty's most gracious appointment of You, to be one of his principal Secretarys of State, upon

which Sir I humbly beg leave to congratulate you.

I shall for the future take particular care to address to you all Letters that may contain Matters of such Importance as are proper to be known to his Majesty. Nothing of that nature now occurrs, or indeed anything uncommon, things remaining here in a State of Quiet, tho' from our weak and exposed condition, the activity of the French, and the disposition of the neighbouring Indians we are apprehensive that our tranquillity will not be of long duration. I heartily thank you Sir for sending me the King's most gracious Speech, and the Addresses of both Houses, which convey to me a precise idea of the present posture of Affairs in Europe.

I have the Honour to be with profound Respect. - Sir, Your most Obedient and most humble Servant HENRY ELLIS.

A. and W. I., vol. 71. Ellis was appointed lieutenant-governor of Georgia in 1756, upon the recall of Governor Reynolds. He had already won a reputation as a scientist and explorer by his conduct of and report upon a government expedition in search of a new passage to the Pacific, and was a Fellow of the Royal Society. His good judgment and tact won the respect and affection of the colony. He was made governor in 1758, but resigned the office in 1760 because of ill health. At a later period he was governor of Nova Scotia.

LORD LOUDOUN TO PITT 1

New York. May 30th 1757

Sir,

On the 11th I had the honor to receive, by the Packet, the Duplicate of your Letter of February 19th, with the Additional Instructions, and the Instructions relating to the Devision of both Rear Admiral Holburne and Major General Hobson; and the Copies of your Letters to the Northern and Southern Provinces.

You may depend on Our observance of His Majesty's Instructions, and of my maintaining and cultivating a good understanding and Agreement, between the Land and Sea Officers; and I have not the least doubt, of an entire Agreement between the Admirals and General Officers; I do assure you, nothing shall be wanting on my part, and as the Cause is the same, I flatter myself we shall act as one man: Sir Charles Hardy, to whom, I Acquainted You I had, on his offring to take the trouble, given the entire Management of the Transports, having Complained that Sailors, both from the Men of War, and Transports, had deserted, in order to get on board the Privateers, from the great proffit they make there, of this Port alone, having brought in Prizes to the value of about two hundred thousand Pounds Sterling, and that those Sailors were harbour'd in Town, and that he could not retake them, without my Assistance; I immediately surrounded the Town with three Battalions, to prevent their making their Escape, whilst he Employed the Sailors in taking up the Deserters, who finding themselves overpower'd, made no resistance, and the whole was finished by six in the morning, without any disturbance; and he got back his Deserters, and I believe, some additional Strength to the Ships of War; without going into this Measure, we could not have Sail'd for want of Seamen. And I have told Sir Charles Hardy, that whatever Troops he wants, to Strengthen his Men of War or that whatever Assistance he wants, that depends

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 85.

on my department, he has but to acquaint me, and he shall have it directly: I mention those things, as you will Judge better from Actions than from Words, of the Manner in which the Service is carried on.

We have received Intelligence, by three Privateers, just arriv'd with five French Merchant Ships, whom they took, that on the 4th of May, Mor de Beaufremont, with the French Fleet, consisting of one Ship of 80 Guns, two of 74, two of 64, and a Frigate of 26 Guns, sailed from Cape S! François; that he took the Trade with him: They all denied that they had any Instructions from the Admiral, till last night, that the Captain of the Magnifique, one of the Prizes arrived, who owns, that they had Instructions, that the Admiral took them under his Charge till they were passed the Cacases; 2 that after that, he made them a Signal, to make the best of their way to their Port; that the Admiral steer'd North and a point West, that at one time he made a Traverse to the East, which he believed was to deceive them as to his intended Voyage, as he next day saw him standing North and a Point West, which was on the IIth of May: this Informant further told us, that his brother is Master of the Tonant; that he had told him that the Fleet was bound for Canada, (in which they include Louisbourg) and that the Fleet at Martinico was to follow them, consisting of one Ship of 70. Guns, two of 60, and two Frigates, and that they expected at Louisbourg, five ships from France. Those Ships are full man'd with Sailors; they were Sickly when they came to the Cape, but compleated them with Men out of the Merchant Ships; They have no Troops on board; and about

² Probably the Caicos Islands, the southernmost of the Bahama group,

known among sailors as the Caucus.

¹ The French sent three fleets across the Atlantic. Beaufremont left Brest with nine ships, January 30, 1757, to reënforce the West Indian garrisons, and rendezvous at Louisburg in the spring. A squadron of five ships, under Du Rivest, left Toulon early in April and arrived at Louisburg on June 4. A third fleet of fourteen ships left Brest, under Du Bois de la Mothe, on May 3 (one week before Holburne got away from Cork), and reached Louisburg June 29,—eleven days before the English fleet arrived at Halifax. See Entick, General History of the Late War, II. 169.

three Months, or at most three Months and a half Provisions.

Other Accounts say, That the Martinico Fleet are to sail

with the Trade, on the 25th of June.

From the French Admirals dismissing his Trade, and sending back his Pilots, as soon as he was clear of the Islands; from his leaving behind all the Officers and Sailors of the Greenwich, whom he had taken; and from the Course he steer'd, we here have not any Doubt, of his being gone to Louisbourg, in consequence of Orders he receiv'd some time before he sail'd from the Cape, by an Advice Boat from France.

Our Situation here, is, the Troops are all Embarked; and the last of the Ships, will probably get to the Hook, to morrow or next day; for Convoy, we have one 50. Gun Ship, the Sutherland; We have two of 20. Guns, the Nightengale and Kennington; two Sloops, the Ferret and Vulture.

I have had a Meeting with Sir Charles Hardy, & Major General Abercromby, to consult what is proper to be done.

The french Fleet is probably gone on to Louisbourg; but if they have any Notice of Us, and that they probably may, for neither the Orders from England, nor the Embargo in this Country, has prevented them from trading, both with the Enemy and the Neutral Ports: They may hover on the Coast for us; If they meet Us, there is an end of the Troops that go from hence; If they are gone to Louisbourg, I doubt Admiral Holburne is not arrived, from all the Accounts the Merchant ships bring, except one from Newry, whose Intelligence must be nothing but the report there, and he differs so widely in his Accounts of the Winds from all the others, that I have no faith in him.

If the Admiral is not arrived, Mor de Beaufremont has nothing to keep him in Port, and my risk is up by Halifax.

But on the other hand, if we remain here Idle, till we can hear from Halifax, which may be a Month, the Campaign is lost; therefore I have never hesitated a Moment, in my own Mind, and Sir Charles Hardy and Major General Abercromby unanimously agree with me, that it is proper

to run that risk, and sail; in the meantime, we have wrote to the Admiral, and to the Commanding Officer of the Troops at Halifax, to Acquaint them with our Intelligence and resolutions; and have sent one sett of those Letters, by a small Vessell thro' the Sound, and the other by Land, to Boston, to be forwarded from there, in a Vessel, where they will find one of the Province Sloops, which brought me Letters from M! Lawrence, of the 18th—He had then, no Account of the Fleet from England, and his Letter to me, was occasioned by an Apprehension, from the Letter he receiv'd from you, and one from me, that accompanied it, that it was expected, he should find Provisions for the Troops coming from England, for the whole Summer; but that is fully provided for, as I have Provisions with me, for them, for Six Months Compleat.

We have this day four Men arrived, who made their escape from Montreal, One of them was a Sergeant in the 50th Regiment, and whilst there, was employed under the Commissary for Bread to the Troops; by the rations he deliver'd, their Batallions are about 400. he acquaints me, that Provisions are scarce in Canada; that they had Accounts from all the Provinces, of the preparations for an Embarkation from hence; that he thinks they have changed their disposition on that; two Regiments are Marched to their Forts of Crown Point and Tienderoga, with 300 Indians. he left Montreal May 7th, that the Language there, was, if we attacked Cape Breton, that would not prevent their Attacking our Forts; if we went to Quebeck, they must apply their whole Force to defend it; as, if that was taken, they could not live, but must all submit and become Prisoners of War.

And by a Man that was taken at Nº 4, in August 1754, in profound Peace, sold by the Indians to the French, for a Slave; I have Accounts of many more in the same Situation: their manner of treating them, is, they first send out their

¹ The battalions of Béarn and Royal Roussillon were sent to Ticonderoga, under the Chevalier Bourlamaque, Montcalm's third in command. As soon as Loudoun's designs on Louisburg and Quebec became apparent, Montcalm determined to attack the forts on the Hudson route.

Indians to take them, then they buy them from the Indians; then they make them ransom themselves, and after they have paid the Money, they detain them in the Country, which is this Man's Case: his neighbour, who was taken with him, has paid for himself, his wife and a child She was brought to bed of on the March, when they were first taken, a Young Child that was taken with them, and his wives Sister, two thousand two hundred Livres, and after that, made him send for Six hundred Livres more; all which they have taken, and kept him in Jail two Years, since the Money was paid, and there he remains still.

As I expect to have the honor of writing to You again, in a few days, from Sea, I shall only now add, that I am,

with the greatest Esteem and Regard, Sir,

Your most Obedient and Most Humble Servant

ADMIRAL HOLBURNE TO PITT 1

NEWARK AT SEA. June 6th 1757.

Sir,

As I have met a Vessel bound to England I think it incumbent on me to endeavour to acquaint you of my being so far only on our way, having met Contrary Winds and bad weather these fifteen days past: I am endeavouring all in my power to pursue my Voyage: A Squadron of French Men of War consisting of Eight Sail of the Line and Two Frigates are gone before us, and a great way: this I am confirm'd in by several Accounts: They must have been from Brest as they were seen a great way to the Northward of the Western Islands.

Two days ago One of Our Ships on the Look out took a french Snow a Month from Cape Francois² bound to Bourdeaux, who gives an Account of their having Five Sail of the Line there and Three Frigates, had taken the Greenwich One of Our Fifty Gun Ships and were careening and fitting her for Sea. All is well I hope in the Fleet, the Weather has

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 85.

² See note to letter of April 10, 1757.

not admitted of Enquiry lately. I am with the greatest respect Sir,

Y! most Obed! and most humble Servant

FRA: HOLBURNE.

LORD LOUDOUN TO PITT 1

His Majesty's Ship Sutherland at Sandy Hook 17th June. 1757. Sir,

* * * * * * *

On the 5th I came on board the Sutherland at the Hook with Sir Charles Hardy, who had faln down two days before with the Fleet; and on the 6th, he sent out the Kennington of 20. Guns, and the Ferret Sloop, to cruize about 50. or 60. Leagues to the S.S.E., and from thence to Range to the Eastward, as far as Nantucket Shoals; from which cruize they returned this Morning, and have met with Nothing since they went out, but one Ship and some Whaling Vessels, one of whom in particular, had been as far out as the fishing Banks, but saw no Ships of the Enemy.

On the 8th, I receiv'd a Letter, by Express, from Mr. Hancock at Boston, enclosing a Letter from Mr. Oliver, the Secretary of the Province, to him, containing an Account, of Mr. Lane, in a Fishing Vessel, having seen on the fishing Banks, on the 5th of May, a 50. Gun Ship, that shewed him french Colours; and that on the 28th of May, he saw Six Sail of large Ships, which he judged to be Men of War, 20. Leagues

from Halifax.

And that Captain Patten, from Cadix, saw likewise, in the Morning of the 28th of May, Eight large Ships; that he saw nothing of them in the Evening, which makes it probable, that they came from the Southward. Enclosed, you have a Copy of M. Oliver's Letter.

Those Ships are probably the Ships from the Cape,² On this: I have had a Meeting with Sir Charles Hardy, and

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 85.

² Cape François. See note to letter of April 10, 1757.

Major General Abercromby. — . . . I was clearly of Opinion, we ought to sail next Morning: as I do not doubt M. Holburne, if he is to come this Year, must be on the Coast of Nova Scotia to protect Us there: And we have taken every Precaution in our Power, by sending him two Expresses, to Acquaint him with our Informations and motions. Sir Charles Hardy, as well as I, see there may be danger of Accidents happening to Us, from the Enemy, but that we have taken all possible precaution to avoid them, and that if we do not now sail the Season will be so far Advanced, nothing can be done, therefore I think it is a risk we now ought to run: And on this,

Sir Charles Hardy unmoored.

In the Evening, we had another Meeting, at which we thought it adviseable, to wait for the Boston Post; on which, Sir Charles Hardy immediately sent a Pilot Boat to New York, for the Letters, which return'd on the 19th, in the Morning, and brought me Letters from Governor Lawrence of June 1st, with the enclosed Account, of large Ships being seen off that Port, on May 29th; and Letters from Captain Rouse, to Sir Charles Hardy, giving an Account of the disposition he had made of his Ships, from whence it appears to me, That if they are the french Squadron, they were in their Passage to Louisbourg; as none of the three Ships stationed to look for M! Holborne's Fleet, seems to have seen them; therefore I made no Change in my Opinion. The 19th, the Wind was foul, and on the 20th we Sailed.

[I] shall now add an Account of the Situation of Affairs, on that part of the Continent we have left.

There is another Sergeant of Captain Rogers Ranging Company, that was taken at his Affair in January last, near Tienderoga,³ returned from Montreal, with Eight Men He

¹ Of Nova Scotia.

² See note to letter of March 10, 1757.

³ Robert Rogers of New Hampshire, the well-known ranger and bushfighter, set out from Fort Edward with some seventy-five rangers to ascertain the numbers of the French garrisons at Crown Point and Ticonderoga. He captured a few prisoners from a provisioning party, and was compelled to fight his way back, as the French in overwhelming numbers tried to cut off his retreat. His party lost twenty men, killed and prisoners. The French lost some forty men. Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe, I. 441-445.

reports, that the French having got an Account of our Preparations, had changed their disposition, and were assembling all their forces at Quebec, to defend their Capital. This I expected, as I am sure, they have every Intelligence the People can learn from Appearances, or by any other Means; and this Intelligence goes from all places. I have acquainted M! Webb with it; told him my Opinion, of the Method of attacking the Forts of Tienderoga & Crown Point, which I hope he may carry if this Intelligence is true; and he can make himself certain of it, as their Indians seem to be retired, as Captain Ogden, with the New York Ranging Company, has been up at Tienderoga, in order to take a Prisoner; he did not succeed in that, but killed three of their Centinels and an Officer on the works of the Fort; and altho' they sent out a large Body after him, on whom he gave one Fire, and got home with his whole Party; four of whom were Wounded.

I have not yet received, from the Bodies of Troops assembled in different places, the exact returns of the Provincials that make part of them; but I know the Massachusetts are short of their Numbers. The Provinces to the Northward, have all agreed, to have Militia ready to support in case of Need, except the Jerseys, who have boasted very much, of having provided one thousand Militia: I send you enclosed, a Copy of the Extract of the Act, by which you will see, that it is only made to talk of, and not for Service; that by it, they infringe on the King's Prerogative; take the whole Management out of the Governor's hands; that there are so many requisits necessary, that they never can move in time, and are at liberty to return in twenty days; And that whilst they are in another Province, they are to be Judged by their own Law, independent of the Laws of the Province they may be in: And have, as they intend, left no Command of them, to the Commander in Chief: but if they were to Join me, I believe they would find, they were mistaken.

The Provinces to the South of them, have behaved very Ill: Pensilvania have not now, raised near their Number of

¹ See note to letter of March 10, 1757.

Men agreed upon; and have not sent the 200. Men to South Carolina: ¹ They have no Militia Law, and have refused to raise the Additional Number I desired of them, on the receipt of your Letter . . . which arrived here May 1st Their whole Attention seems to be, to usurp every part of the Prerogative, into the hands of the Assembly, and to disappoint every Plan of the Government.

M. Sharpe has been able to get the Province of Maryland, to raise the Men Stipulated; but in Spite of him, they have taken a very Extraordinary Step, which if not remedied, must have very bad Consequences, and will take the Command of all Provincial Troops, entirely out of the King's hands, or any General he Appoints; which is, that they have, after I had, as I acquainted You in a former Letter, Appointed the Maryland Troops to be in Fort Cumberland, Voted, That they will allow no Pay, to any Officer that shall Command there, tho' it is in their own Province. If this extraordinary resolution of that Assembly does not meet with a Severe Check, it will immediately be followed thro' the whole Provinces.

Colonel Stanwix,4 has very properly, sent positive Orders

to the Officer, to take that Command.

¹ It was arranged at the meeting of the provincial governors with Lord Loudoun in March that the quota for Pennsylvania should be fourteen hundred men for "the Security of the whole," and two hundred men for the defence of South Carolina and Georgia, these last to be supported at the expense of the Crown from the time they should reach South Carolina. *Penn. Col. Rec.*, V. 471.

² See note to letter of May 3, 1757.

³ See Sharpe's letters to Stanwix in Md. Arch., VI. 550, 554; also a letter

to Dinwiddie, Ibid., IX. 16.

⁴ John Stanwix was colonel of the 1st battalion of the 6oth regiment, the Royal Americans. He was given the command of the Southern District of North America, and, during 1757, his headquarters were at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. He became brigadier-general in December, 1757, was relieved by Forbes in 1758, and went to New York, where he built Fort Stanwix, at the Oneida Carrying Place. In 1759 he returned to the command of the Southern District, with headquarters at Pittsburg. In May, 1760, he resigned his command to Brigadier Monckton. He was made major-general in 1759, and lieutenant-general in 1760. For a more detailed account of his career, see N.Y. Col. Doc., VII. 280.

Virginia has not yet, near the Number they were to furnish; 1 They have sent with Lieutenant Colonel Bouquet,2 but 200 Men out of the 400. they were to have sent; They have sent none to the Fort, they have built in the Cherokee Country³

And Lieutenant Governor Dinwiddie, as I am inform'd, and have reason to believe; has broke the Concert made with the other Provinces, of keeping on the Embargo; and without my knowledge or Consent, has taken it off in Virginia, on the 8th of May:4 this never came to my knowledge till the 19th, the day before we sailed, that I receiv'd a Letter from Governor Sharpe, with a Copy of the Order of the Council, dated May 5th, to the Collector of the Customs, granting Liberty for Ships to sail on the 8th, by this, Mr. Dinwiddie has broke thro' the Concert I have made, and been endeavoring to establish among the Provinces. By his suffering Ships to sail, they may fall into the hands of the french Squadron, in their Cross from the Cape to the Northward, from whom they may get Intelligence of this Embarkation, which it does not appear, by all we can learn from the Prisoners, that they had before; And to me personally, it is surely, as Cruel an Action as it was possible for one Man to do to another; for from my having the honor, to be Governor of that Dominion, it will be believed, that the Lieutenant Governor would not have taken it upon him-

¹ Virginia was expected to contribute one thousand men for the general defence, and four hundred for South Carolina. The troops refused to leave the colony because their pay was in arrears. See Md. Arch., IX. 9, 11.

² Henry Bouquet, a Swiss by birth, served in several Continental armies, and entered the English service as lieutenant-colonel in 1756. He was General Forbes's chief dependence in the trying campaign of 1758, which was concluded by the capture of Fort Du Quesne. In 1763 he was sent from Canada by Amherst to relieve Fort Pitt. He led an expedition against the Ohio Indians in the following year, and died in Florida in 1766.

³ This was Fort Loudoun, in the Upper Cherokee Country, on the headwaters of the Tennessee, near the southwest boundary of Virginia, and within the present limits of Monroe County, Tennessee. It was built after repeated solicitations from the Cherokee Indians. See Dinwiddie Papers,

II. 416, 418, 495, 539.

⁴ See Dinwiddie's letter to Loudoun, Dinwiddie Papers, II. 616; also, a letter of Sharpe's in Md. Arch., IX. 18.

self, without my Concurrence; which is doing all that lay in his Power, to give me the Appearance of Partiality, which, whilst they see it in that light, must diminish that Weight,

the Kings Commander in Chief ought to have.

The difficulty of Moving the Fleet and Transports, first, and then the certain Accounts of Mo: de Beaufremonts Fleet being out, whose own Ship alone, is able to destroy all our Fleet here; And the Accounts, of the Intention of the Fleet from Martinico, being likewise ordered to follow him, has obliged us to continue the Embargo, till we were Sailed, to prevent their having Intelligence of our Motions. I send you enclosed, Copies of Intercepted Letters, I have received from Governor Lyttleton, with the Treaty they have made, Provisionally, with the Indians, in case Mor Vaudreuil approves of it; with two Letters in Cypher, which we cannot explain here.

From Georgia, I have strong remonstrances, of their danger, and total incapacity of making any resistance. Lieutenant Colonel Bouquet has Orders, to give them all the Support in their Power; but they are too far from him, for him to be able to do anything material for them; and as it is a Frontier Province; and tho' it produces nothing at present; It's being in the Enemy's hands, would have very

bad Effect on the Neighbouring Provinces.

I have, on Governor Ellis's strong Sollicitations, given him a Credit, on the Pay Master, for £850.2 Sterling, to support Rangers for their defence, which, with £150, that has been paid on the £200, which I acquainted You Governor Reynolds had drawn on me, to support Rangers, and to which I have hitherto receiv'd no Answer from you:

Although I have no Instructions on this Subject, it appear'd to me, that without some Support, the Province was in Danger of being lost; and that it would be much less Expence

¹ Bouquet was stationed in Charleston, South Carolina. Governor Ellis seems to have fitted out a vessel at his own expense for the protection of the coast. Later in the year, Colonel Bouquet sent one hundred Virginia provincials to Savannah. Jones, *History of Georgia*, I. 537.

to the Government to support it, than to retake it when lost; which is the reason of my ordering this Advance of Money, during my absence; but I must beg, that I may receive Orders how to proceed hereafter.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, Sir,
Your most obedient and Most Humble Servant,
Loudoun.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO PITT¹

June 18th, 1757

R't Hon'ble,

Inclos'd You have Copy of my last, to which please be refer'd. The Indians that were on our frontiers are not to be govern'd or perswaded to remain in assisting us above 3 Moons. The Catawbas, Tuscaroras, and Nottaways have been at this place, to the No. of 220, on their return to their own Nations, they are an avaritious sett of People, and I have been oblig'd to give them presents to engage them to return to our Assistance, which they have promised. brought 2 of the Enemys' Scalps. The Cherokees, to the No. of 180, are still out a scouting against the Enemy. A Party of them brought into Fort Loudoun,2 near Winchester, 4 Scalps and 2 Prisoners of the Enemy, and a Party more of the Cherokees, with 70 Men from our Provincials, are gone out in search of the Enemy. Mr. Atkin, who is Commission'd by His Majesty to superintend and manage Indian Affairs, went from this the - of last Month to meet a No. of Cherokees at fort Loudoun, and to examine into many Irregularities comitted by them in their March through the Country, and as Nothing is to be done with these People without Presents, I sent, by Mr. Atkin a great many Goods, to be delivered to them by him in such Manner as he saw proper. Agreeable to the Plan concerted by Lord Loudoun and the Gov'rs at Philadelphia, there arriv'd here 1/2 a Batalion of Royal Americans, under Convoy of His Majesty's

² See note to preceding letter.

A. and W. I., vol. 71. Printed in Dinwiddie Papers, II. 641.

Ship Garland. The Soldiers under the Command of Lieut. Colonel Bouquet.1 I order'd 2 Companies, of 100 Men each, from the Regim't in the Pay of this Colony, and from our Magazine, by Lord Loudoun's Orders, I sent 100 Barrels of Powder, and three Tons of Lead Ball. They sail'd from this the 28th Ulto. for So. Carolina, and I think it will be an agreeable Reinforcement for that Province, as the Governor was apprehensive of an Invasion from the Mississippi. Colo. Stanwix² also sent for Ammunition. He has received from fort Loudoun 100 Barrels of Powder, 3 Tons of lead Balls, some Cannon Ball and Flints. I believe he, w'th 500 of the Americans, is on the frontiers of Pennsylvania. I prorogu'd the Assembly of this Dominion the 8th Inst., after sitting 10 Weeks. I was very solicitous with them to have a due regard to His M'ty's Commands transmitted me by You. In Consequence thereof, they voted 500 Men more to augment our Force to 1,500 effective Men, and voted £80,000 for their Subsistance, &c.; to provide for the Indians that may come in to our Assistance and to Garison the Fort built last year in the Cherokee Country; they also voted £5,000 for purchasing Goods to begin a Trade with the Indians, not out of any lucrative view, for the Goods are to be sold them at the first Cost with the Charges thereon, and if this Method was practised by all the Colonies on this Continent, they wou'd be supplied with Goods at such low Rates, that in a short Time wou'd cut the French out of the Trade with them, and I am convinced wou'd be of much more Service than giving them Presents, and I hope this Step will meet with Approbation. In Justice to this Dominion I must inform You they have been more attentive to His M'ty's commands in supporting his just Rights, than any Colony on this Continent. The Proprietary Gov to the Northward have always been tardy in supporting the common Cause, which loaded me with many Difficulties to raise our People to a just Sense of their Duty to the best of Kings, and, indeed, for their own Preserva-

¹ See note to preceding letter. ² See note to preceding letter.

tion. I doubt not but Gov'r Sharpe, will write how backward and refractory the Assembly of that Province has lately been in Opposition to the Plan concerted by Lord Loudoun and the Governors at Philadelphia. My Health still continues much impair'd, that I am in hopes soon to have Leave to Come to Britain for the recovery of my Health. I am convinced if alterations are not made in the Present Constitutions of the Colonies on this Continent, and to have a general Mode of Government under his M'ty's immediate Direction, and a Coalition of the whole, it will be impracticable to conduct His Majesty's Affairs with that Spirit which the present Emergency of our Affairs requires. But this I must refer to your more superior Judgement, and with great Deference and respect, I remain, Right Hon'ble,

Your faithful and obedient h'ble serv't.

[No signature.]

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO PITT 1

June 20th, 1757.

R't Hon'ble,

I wrote You the 18th, to which I begg (you) to be refer'd. Last Night I received an Express from Colo. Washington,² at Fort Loudoun,³ near Winchester, giving me an Account that the French, and their Indians from Fort Du Quesne had march'd in a great Body, with a Train of Artillery, to invade the other Colonies to the Northward of this, and it is suspected they intend to invest Fort Cumberland.⁴ This fort was formerly Garrison'd by the forces from this Dominion, but by the Regulation form'd and concerted by Lord Loudoun, at Philadelphia, our forces were order'd from that fort in Order to Garrison fort Loudoun, and part of the Maryland forces were order'd to fort Cumberland, and I'm sorry for the Account I have rec'd, that they

A. and W. I., vol. 71. Printed in Dinwiddie Papers, II. 646.

² For Dinwiddie's letters to Washington and Abercromby, on this occasion, see *Dinwiddie Papers*, II. 643, 650.

³ See note to letter of June 17, 1757. ⁴ See note to letter of May 3, 1757.

are in a poor Condition to sustain a siege — that I am greatly apprehensive that the Enemy will easily take it; but to let you more fully into the Accounts I have rece'd by the Express, inclos'd I send You Copy of the Letters, and a Copy of the Council of War held on this Occasion, by which you will please observe it was impossible for the Garison at fort Loudoun to reinforce that at fort Cumberland, as the Distance is at least 100 Miles, and the Enemy were then supposed to be within thirty miles of fort Cumberland. On this News I call'd the Council, to advise what was proper to They agreed with me to order the Militia of 7 of the most contiguous Counties, to march immediately to fort Loudoun, to reinforce and protect that Fortress from the Insults of the Enemy. Expresses have been sent to Colo. Stanwix, who commands in Chief, all the forces in these Southern Colonies, and who, I believe, is at the Town of Carlisle in Pensylvania, distant about 100 Miles from Fort Loudoun (and near the same Distance from fort Cumberland), to give his Orders and Direct'ns on this unexpected Emergency. It is supposed fort Du Quesne has been reinforced with a great No. of forces from the Mississippi, which has been long dreaded.

The Reinforcement to our Regiment is not yet rais'd,¹ but they are very busy on this head, by making Drafts from the Militia in each County of this Dominion, but what we fear is an Invas'n by Sea, and we have not one King's Ship here. The Garland station'd here is employ'd in convoying Troops to the Assistance of So. Carolina, and I am humbly of Opinion that these two valueable Colonies of Virginia and Maryland are greatly neglected in having only one 20-Gun Ship on this Station. I shall do every thing in my power to raise the Men intended to augment the Regiment in the Pay of this Domin'n, and I am greatly in hopes that Colo. Stanwix,² with his half Batalion of Royal Americans, with the

¹ Virginia augmented her quota to twelve hundred men and three companies of one hundred rangers each, and voted a subsidy of £80,000. *Dinwiddie Papers*, II. 651.

² See note to letter of June 17, 1757.

Provincials of Pensylvania, Maryland and this Dominion, will be able to repell the force of the Enemy, but the Account we have received bears a gloomy Aspect, and if the Enemy sends no Ships of War I hope we shall be able to give a good Account of them. This is at present our unfortunate Situation, and I think it my Duty to represent the facts to You as they really are in Truth. I send this Day an Express to inform Me of the Motions of the Enemy, and if possible to know their Numbers, of which, as soon as I am inform'd, I shall transmit You as particular Account as I can. I have not heard from Lord Loudoun for 6 Weeks past, whether he is embark'd for Nova Scotia or whether the forces from Britain are arriv'd; on these Points I am quite ignorant. My Lord is very assiduous, and all his Motions and Intentions are kept very secret that Nothing perspires but in vague Reports, in which there is no Dependence. For the sake of these valueable Colonies I humbly intreat that some Ships of War be immediately sent out for our Protection, as we are an open Country without any Fortifications to the Sea; that two or 3 Privateers may come within our Capes, ravage and plunder the Plantations at their Pleasure, being an extensive Country where the Militia cannot possibly protect the whole from the Dpredat'ns that a few Privateers may make on different Parts of this Domin'n.

I hope You'll excuse my being so particular and earnest in an Affair that appears to me to be of so great Consequence to His M'ty's Service, and I beg You will believe me to be, with

great Deference and humble respect.

Right Hon'ble, Your most obed and faithful h'ble serv't.
[No signature.]

PITT TO ADMIRAL HOLBURNE 1

WHITEHALL. July 7th 1757.

Sir,

Intelligence having been received which gives Room to think it probable that the Several French Squadrons, which

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 75. It will be remembered that Pitt was dismissed by George II. on April 5, 1757, and recalled to office on June 29.

have sailed this Year from Europe under the Command of Mor Bois de la Mothe, Mor Beaufremont, and Mor du Revest, may all be directed to proceed to North America, and to form one Fleet there; His Majesty has been pleased to order the Somerset, and the Devonshire, of 70 Guns each, the Prince Frederick of 64 Guns, and the Eagle of 60 Guns, to sail forthwith, to reinforce the Squadron under your Command; and it is the King's Pleasure, that upon the Arrival of the Four Ships above mentioned, you do immediately dispatch a Sloop to England with an Account of the Condition of your Ships, and also with the best Intelligence, you shall have been able to procure, as well of the Number, Condition, and Stations, of Those of the Enemy, as of their Operations, and future Destination; And it is His Majesty's further Pleasure, that, in case you should receive any Intelligence, with regard to the Return Homewards of the Whole or Part of the French Fleet, you should not fail to dispatch, with all possible Diligence & Expedition, another Sloop, with Advice thereof, in order that a Squadron may be properly stationed to intercept them in their Passage. The King is persuaded of your great Zeal and Vigilance to exert your utmost efforts for His Service in this critical and urgent Conjuncture; Yet I must [not] omit most strongly recommending you to act with the greatest Vigour against the Enemy, and doubt not, but you will so apply the powerful Force, now under your Command, as will effectually answer the great Views of His Majesty, and the general Expectations of the Nation: And in case you shall receive Advice of the French Fleet sailing Homewards, It is the King's Pleasure, that you should follow them as close as may be, and with the Utmost Expedition, in order, if possible, to fall in with them, either before they reach Europe, or on the Coasts of France; where, by means of a number of English Ships, properly stationed, the Enemy may happen to fall into a Position between Two of the King's Squadrons.

I am etc.

W. PITT.

GOVERNOR LYTTELTON TO PITT 1

Charles Town. th July. 1757.

Sir,

I had the honour to write to you the 24th of May and have since received your Letters of the 4th of February and the

31st of March.2

In obedience to His Majesty's Commands express'd in the former I immediately summon'd the General Assembly and exhorted them in the most earnest manner to enable me to raise as large a number of forces, for the General Service, as the Circumstances of this Province would admit of, and on the 6th Instant I assented to an Act whereby I am enabled to raise a Regiment of Seven Companies of One Hundred Men each, five whereof may be sent to any part of North America to be employ'd occasionally where-ever His Majesty's Service may require, and they are to be inlisted upon the same terms as the Soldiers in the King's pay are inlisted and to be subjected to the same discipline.

The sum of Twenty thousand pounds Sterling is provided to defray the expence of this Regiment for one year and six thousand three hundred and twenty eight pounds eleven shillings and five pence Sterling are also granted for the

Fortifications of this Town.

This bill met with great Opposition and the Sum for Fortifications was carried only by two Votes. The supplies given by it added to those comprehended in two former Acts I passed last May, amount to Forty eight Thousand, nine hundred and Seventy Seven pounds, three shillings and seven pence Sterling. — which is near five times as much as this Province has usually granted in one Year.

The Highland Battalion which you acquaint me Sir in your Letter of the 31st of March that the King has been graciously pleas'd to order to proceed hither will be a most welcome Assistance and afford a very great degree of Security

to this Province.

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 71.

² See letters of those dates.

On the 15th ultimate Lieutenant Colonel Bouquet ¹ arriv'd here from Philadelphia with half a Battalion of the Royal Americans and two hundred Provincials of Virginia.

I am with the greatest respect

Sir, your most obedient humble servant William Henry Lyttleton.

GOVERNOR POWNALL TO PITT²

Sir, N. Scotia. Halifax. July 15. 1757.

In obedience to your Commands I came to this Place to meet the Earl of Loudoun Commander in Chief of all His Majesty's Forces in North America: In obedience to the same Commands I have communicated to his Lordship the Measures taken upon every Article that I was charg'd by his Lordship to lay before His Majesty's Ministers: Having executed this Duty I embark tomorrow, on board his Majesty's Ship the Nightingal, for my Government of His Majesty's Province, Messachusetts Bay. I have the Honor to be Sir—

Your most obedient and Most Humble Servant T. Pownall.

¹ See notes to letter of June 17, 1757.

² A. and W. I., vol. 71. Thomas Pownall came to America as secretary to Sir Danvers Osborne in 1753. In 1755 he returned to England and was appointed governor of New Jersey, to succeed Governor Belcher. He came to America with Lord Loudoun in 1756, but remained in the country only a few months. In 1757 he was made governor of Massachusetts to succeed Shirley, and held the governorship of New Jersey for a few months following Governor Belcher's death in that year. He was made governor of South Carolina in 1759, but it does not appear that he ever served in that capacity. He left Boston for England in 1760. He was member for Minehead, and made several speeches on the revolutionary war between 1776 and 1781. These he had printed and sent to America. Governor Pownall published in 1764 the first part of his work on "The Administration of the Colonies." The second part appeared in 1775. He also published "A Topographical Description of such parts of North America as are contained in the annexed Map of the Middle British Colonies," in 1776; "A Memorial on the Present State of Affairs between the Old and New World," in 1780; and other "Memorials" in 1782 and 1783. He died in 1805 at the advanced age of eighty-five years. Gentleman's Magazine, 1805, Pt. I. 288.

PITT TO LORD LOUDOUN 1

WHITEHALL. July 18th 1757.

My Lord,

On the sixth Instant I was honored with your Lordship's several Dispatches of the twenty fifth April, & third & thirtieth of May,2 all which were immediately laid before the King. I have the Satisfaction to inform your Lordship that the two Highland Battalions, commanded by Lieutenant Col! Montgomery & Lieutenant Colonel Fraser, sailed from Cork, on the thirtieth of last month, and that these Corps were not only entirely compleated, but a good Number of Supernumerary Men were also embarked with them. I am further to acquaint Your Lordship that in order to reinforce the Troops, under your Command, His Majesty has been pleased to direct a Draught of 1000 Men to be made from the Several Battalions in Great Britain and Ireland. And also that Nine additional Companies of Highlanders, consisting each of 100 Men be forthwith raised, three of which Companies are to be added to Each of the Highland Battalions already in America, or on their way thither: - these Draughts and additional Companies are all to be embarked, so as to arrive in America by the Month of October, when the Ports will still be open: - And the King is pleased to leave it to Your Lordship's Prudence to dispose of this Reinforcement in such a Manner as Your Lordship shall judge best for His Majesty's Service. The King is persuaded that this His Most Gracious and timely Attention to supply the Body of Troops employed in the Important Service of North America cannot fail to animate the Zeal of all His Subjects there. . . . I have the pleasure to acquaint your Lordship that His Majesty is pleased to approve the great Diligence & Application which appears in your Lordship's Conduct.

I am etc: —

W. Pitt.

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 75.

PITT TO ADMIRAL HOLBURNE 1

WHITEHALL, July 18th 1757.

Sir,

The Eagle Man of War, will probably have brought you my Letter of the 7th Instant,2 of which, for greater Security,

I send you the enclosed Duplicate.

I am now to inform you by what Accident the four Ships mentioned in the Enclosed, did not sail together, according to the Notice therein given you; the Devonshire & Prince Frederick passed by Plymouth with a fair Wind (to put themselves under the Command of Commodore Moore 3) the Day before the Orders had reached Admiral Harrison there, for their proceeding to North America, and tho' the Sheernesse was immediately dispatched to recall them there was so little hopes of her coming up with them, that it was thought proper, the Eagle and Somerset should sail (which they did early on the 12 Instant) and a Sloop was dispatched to overtake, if possible, the Devonshire and Prince Frederick at the Madeiras with Orders to join you; but I this Moment learn that the Sheernesse has, most fortunately, overtaken those Ships, which are to proceed to put themselves under your Command.

With regard to what is contained in the latter part of the Enclosed Letter concerning your following with the utmost Expedition the French Fleet on their return to Europe, altho' your Prudence must render unnecessary any Intimation with regard to the Execution of such a Measure, yet for greater Caution and Clearness on a Point of so much Importance, I am to signify to you, that it is His Majesty's Pleasure, that you are to consider the conjunct Operations of His Majesty's Fleet, and Land Forces in North America,

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 75.

² See letter of that date.

³ Commodore, later Admiral, Sir John Moore was a member of the court-martial on Admiral Byng in 1757, and was shortly afterward appointed to command on the Leeward Islands station. He took a prominent part in the West Indian campaign of 1758 and 1759, as subsequent letters will show.

as the first, and preferable Service, and that, consequently, you will not leave those Parts, with the Fleet under your Command, so long as any of the great objects of those Operations, so strongly recommended, and enforced in the King's Instructions & Orders to the Earl of Loudoun, and yourself, may, with any Reasonable Prospect of Success, be still pursued; After which it is His Majesty's Pleasure, that you execute, with the utmost Diligence and Expedition, the Orders contained in my Letter of the 7th Instant, with regard to following the Enemy on their return homewards.

I am &c:—

W. Pitt.

GOVERNOR LYTTELTON TO PITT²

CHARLES Town the th of July 1757.

Sir.

I wrote to you the the Instant since which I have had the honour to receive a Letter from you of the 19th of February 3 in which you are pleas'd to inform me of the appointment of Rear Admiral Holbourne to command a Squadron in North America and to give me some Instructions in Consequence of that Appointment, which I shall be carefull to observe.

His Majesty's ship the Winchelsea, the only one that was Station'd here, sail'd from hence to Halifax the latter end of April, but I hope when the Service of this Summer is over, She may be allow'd to return hither or some other Ship be sent in her stead. I am with the greatest respect Sir

Your most obedient and most humble Servant

WILLIAM HENRY LYTTLETON.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR ELLIS TO PITT 4

GEORGIA the 1st August. 1757.

Sir.

I had the honour of your letter of the 4th february.5 In obedience to it I immediatly called our Assembly together,

⁵ See letter of that date.

² A. and W. I., vol. 71. 1 See letter of that date. ⁴ A. and W. I., vol. 71. ³ See letters of these dates.

and laid the principal Matter of it before them, and in consequence of which I received a few days after the Address that I have the honour to transmit herewith.¹

It contains a very true Representation of the State of this Province, and so full a one that I do not know what to add, and can only say in general that there is every disposition that could be wished in the People to answer the most sanguine expectations, but they really are incapable of doing more than they have done which tho' it may appear inconsiderable is a great deal in their Circumstances.2—They have laid on a Tax of 3/ a head upon their Negroes, and 2/. upon every 100 Acres of Land they are possessed of, the whole of which from the small number of the people will amount to little more than £500. They have also resolved to build five Log Forts in different parts of the Province,3 upon which Themselves and their Negroes are to work twelve days, which alone is a considerable Tax upon them, and when it is considered Sir that the poverty of the Colony is such that the Mother Country defrays the expenses of this Government, our inability of contributing anything to the Common Cause will strongly appear. This Colony has been settled but Twenty five years. It was originally intended to be a receptacle for the poor of our Parishes, and Jails, and till within these eight or ten years, the bulk of the people had their Provisions served to them out of the publick Store, which expence was annually provided for by Parliament: For by the exclusion of Slaves very little Provision, or any other Produce was raised here. Within these few years that regulation has been broke thro', and several people have come in, but they were such as could live no where else. The greater part of their Substance they were obliged to sell to pay off part of their Debts, and the remainder they have been labouring under great hardships and difficultys ever since to discharge: - Our whole people are only between

¹ The Address merely repeats in general terms the substance of the letter.

² See an account of the province in Stevens, *History of Georgia*, I. 439.
³ These were Forts Savannah, Augusta, Darien, Ogeechee, and Midway. *Ibid.*, I. 437.

4 and 5000 Whites, (out of which 700 are capable of bearing Arms) and 2000 Negroes. The former in general are so very poor that they but barely subsist themselves. I am confident there are not Ten Men in the Province that are worth £500 each — so that you will see Sir there is something very peculiar in our case, and that however inclinable our few people might be to give proofs of their Zeal and affection, and assistance to the Common Cause, it is totally out of their power.¹

A few French Privateers have been on our Coast these several days, and have caused great uneasiness to the Inhabitants, who have been constantly under Arms since their appearance, and indeed with good reason, as there is nothing to prevent their landing and plundering those

Plantations that are situated near the rivers.

It were greatly to be wished that the Importance of this Province was more generally attended to, for it has certainly all the conveniences and advantages of any of the rest, and in respect of Situation and the goodness of its Ports greatly exceeds them all. A Ship of War could nowhere be better stationed for annoying the Enemy, whose ships from the Islands of late go thro' the Gulph of Florida to avoid our Cruizers, and all their Vessels from their Settlements on the Bay of Mexico, must take the same Track, our vicinity to which would therefore be of great convenience. The ships that are usually stationed at Charlestown are not so well calculated for the Service, as that place is more distant, and the harbour more intricate and shallow than ours. — I need not insist here upon the expediency and even necessity of some measures being immediately concerted at home for putting this Province in a posture of defence. I think all this will fully appear from the facts set forth, in the Address of our Assembly. But when or how this is to be undertaken we must humbly submit to his Majesty.

We have had no late Accounts here of the Movements of the Enemy, but it is certain they are with much industry

¹ Shortly after this, Ellis obtained from Colonel Bouquet who commanded at Charleston, one hundred Virginia troops to be quartered in Savannah.

practising upon the Savages in our neighbourhood. It will be a great Evil if they can make those impressions upon them that they desire, as they are so warlike and numerous that they would easily overwhelm this Province in its present weak and defenceless condition.

I have several of the principal Men of the Creek nation now with me, and find them pretty well inclined to us,1 a disposition that I shall strenuously cultivate, as indeed the very being of this Government depends upon it. - not to mention the influence it might have upon our other designs and operations.

The present occasion affords me nothing further but that I have the honour to be with most profound Respect. - Sir,

Your most Obedient and most Humble Servant HENRY ELLIS.

PITT TO GOVERNOR PINFOLD 2

WHITEHALL, Aug. 6th 1757.

Gov ... Pinfold. Sir,

Monsieur le Marquis d' Abreu, Envoy Extraordinary from His Catholick Majesty to this Court, having presented to me a Memorial, in which he complains of some very extraordinary Acts of violence and cruelty committed upon the Persons of some of His Catholick Majesty's Subjects, on Board a Spanish Vessel called Nuestra Senora de los remedios Joseph Bottino Master, by two English Privateers, whose Names he has not yet learnt, under pretence that the Ship and lading were French, and destined for Martinico,3 I herewith send you an Extract of the said Memorial, to

pointed governor of Barbados in 1756, to succeed Governor Grenville.

¹ In October a long conference was held between the governor and council of the Province and the chiefs of the Upper and Lower Creeks. This led to a treaty which placed the Indian relations of Georgia upon a better footing than they had been for many years. Stevens, I. 440-443.

² A. and W. I., vol. 78. Charles Pinfold, doctor of civil law, was ap-

³ See circular letter to the governors in North America and the West Indies. of September 16, 1757.

which I refer you for Particulars, and I am commanded by His Majesty, (who considers with the utmost horror and detestation such Acts of Inhumanity) to signify to you His Royal Pleasure, that you do forthwith make the strictest inquiry into the real State of the Facts alledged by the Spanish Envoy, and if it shall appear that such Outrages have been committed by His Majesty's Subjects, (in open Violation of the Treaties subsisting between the two Crowns) you are immediately to prosecute the Offenders, with the utmost rigour, that they may be brought if possible, to a Punishment equal to the enormity of their Crime; and that restitution may be made to the Sufferers.

It is not without some Concern, that I am obliged to express to You, His Majesty's Surprize, at receiving those disagreeable Accounts thro' any other Channel, sooner than that of His Servants, whose immediate Duty it was to give the earliest Information of any thing, which could possibly tend to disturb the good Understanding, which so happily subsists between the King, and His Catholick Majesty; and I am to desire that, for the future, in this & all such Cases, you do transmit to me for His Majesty's Information,

the most early & exact Intelligence.

I am &ca

W. Pitt.

GOVERNOR POWNALL TO PITT 1

Boston, August 16, 1757.

Sir,

I landed at this place August 3rd, on Saturday August 6th a letter directed to the President of the Council from Gen! Webb ² (dated Fort Edward distant 260 miles. July 31.) came to my hands acquainting me that he expected to be attacked by a large body of the Enemy who were advancing towards him. I immediately ordered the three most Western Regiments of this Government to March to the extreme western Frontiers of the Province (which our People believe

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 71. ² See note to letter of March 10, 1757.

to be within 12 miles of Albany) there to receive my orders further to aid and assist his Majesty's Forces; the particular manner in which I was forc'd to give these orders to produce the Effect Wanted of getting Aid and Assistance to Gen! Webb arose from my not having Power by my Commission, and being restrained by the Charter of this Province marching the Militia beyond the limits of the Province, However, these orders had their Effect. Upon receiving August 7th a letter from Capth Christie (acting Deputy Quarter Master General) at Albany, That Fort William Henry was invested² I sent Sir William Pepperrell³ (whom I have appointed L' General of the Province) up to the Frontiers to collect a Body of Troops, and send forward any Reinforcements the case should require, and also gave orders to all the six and twenty Regiments of the Province to hold themselves in readiness to march at a minutes warning. I desir'd Sir John St Clair 4 who was here

¹ Captain Gabriel Christie was in command of the garrison at Albany during the summer of 1757. He served as deputy quartermaster-general in 1756 and 1757. In 1758 he was present at the siege of Louisburg, was made major in April, 1759, and deputy quartermaster-general in America in the following August. He entered Canada with the British army in 1760. He rose eventually to the rank of general, and became proprietor of Isle aux Noix in the Richelieu river (which he afterward sold to the Crown), and of several seigniories in the vicinity of that island. He died at Montreal in 1798. Some of the maps for which he surveyed in 1759 are in the British Museum. See Winsor, V. 238.

² See note to letter of March 10, 1757.

³ Webb visited Fort William Henry on July 25. He was convinced that the French were about to attack the place, and upon his return to Fort Edward wrote to New York and to Massachusetts for reënforcements. He also sent two hundred regulars and eight hundred Massachusetts men from his own force. This left him sixteen hundred men at Fort Edward, with perhaps half as many more stationed at Albany and the intervening forts, and brought Munro's force at Fort William Henry up to twenty-two hundred, including sailors and mechanics. See Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe, I. 496.

⁴ Lieutenant-colonel in the British army. He came to America in 1755, was quartermaster-general under Braddock and wounded in the battle of the Monongahela. He served in the same capacity in the campaign of 1758,

under Forbes.

in his way to Halifax to go up with Sir William Pepperrell and assist him. Upon a second letter to Captⁿ Christie I sent order to Sir William to send off what Men he could gett on Horseback, he ordered a 4th Regt to march. Upon my hearing that there was some delay in the Reinforcements getting on (tho' I must here observe that Albany is about 200 miles from hence) I wrote to Sir William Pepperrell to put such further Reinforcements as he should send off under the Lead of Sir John St Clair. Upon a third letter from Capt. Christie I repeated my orders to Sir William Pepperrell to forward with the utmost expedition still more Reinforcements as they should be wanted, and upon receiving letters from Gov! De Lancey and Capt. Christie dated August 11, acquainting me of the Surrender of Fort W." Henry, to enable Sir William Pepperrell the better to send forward Reinforcements, as also to secure our own Frontiers, I ordered up immediately all the Troops of Horse and a fourth part of the Militia of this Province. I am myself in the mean while taking every measure towards forming an Army on the Frontiers such as providing a Field Train of Eight Pieces of Cannon, as also Magazines of Provision and Ammunition on the Frontiers, and that such an Army as I was forming might be for some effectual purpose —I am in the mean while indeavouring, and I hope I shall succeed, with the Assembly to get an Effectual Militia Law. I met the Assembly this day and have proposed such to them. I have also recommended to them according to his Majesty's pleasure signify'd in your Letter to me, the sending Recruits to the Navy under the command of Vice Admiral Holburn.

I have constantly from time to time by Dispatch Vessells acquainted the Earl of Loudoun with every particular I have reciev'd, what the particulars of the Surrender of the William Henry are, I have the Honour to transmit in the inclos'd Copys of Letters reciev'd by me this day after-noon, which contain an Account of the most Perfidious Breach

¹ Lieutenant-governor De Lancey was left at the head of the government of New York upon Sir Charles Hardy's departure for Halifax. See note to letter of Pitt to De Lancey, of December 30, 1757.

by the French of a very Honourable Capitulation on the

part of his Majesty's Troops.

It being the 6th of this month before I reciev'd any account of the Advance of the Enemy, and the 7th before I had any account of Fort W. Henry's being invested, and the 8th before the Troops could receive orders to muster and march, and then having some of them 200 miles to go, I hope it will not be imputed to any delay in the Troops of this Province, that they have not reach'd Fort Edward on the 9th Instant the day that Fort W. Henry was surrendered.

Augst 18th I have a Return, that we have now besides the Troops rais'd by this Province, Eight hundred of the Militia now at Fort Edward, the rest are returned as I understand it by Gen! Webb's direction, as he says in his Letter to Gov. De Lancey (Copy of which was by his Order forwarded to me) that he is by his intelligence pretty certain that the Enemy have no design of coming towards him, and that the Militia need not be hurried up as was before necessary.1 And I have late this evening recieved four Letters Copies of which mark'd T1. 2. 3. 4. I beg leave to refer to, as I am under Difficulty what Judgment precisely to form from them. I will also beg leave to Refer to the Copy of my Letter to Mr Webb2 on this Occasion, as I cannot in other Words or more fully explain the State of the Service as it now stands. as also to an extract of a Letter from Col! Williams and Col! Ruggles inclosing some intelligence of L! Farnsworth³ who has lately made his Escape from Canada, which I have sent to Lord Loudoun.

Aug! 20. I have the pleasure to acquaint you, Sir, that

² This copy, now in the Public Record Office, London, repeats what is

here stated.

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¹ Numbers of the militia came to Fort Edward during the few days immediately following the surrender of Fort William Henry. They were terrified and disorderly, and Webb, having satisfied himself that the French had gone northward, sent them home on August 17. Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe, II. 3.

³ Probably Stephen Farnsworth, one of the garrison at Number 4 (Charlestown, New Hampshire), who was captured in an Indian foray of 1746. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 4th ser., V. 366.

both Houses of the Legislature have approv'd the Steps I have taken, tho' I have exceeded the Powers of their Charter, as you will here see by their Addresses to me which I have the Honour to inclose, and they are making Provision for the Expence I have incurr'd therein, and tho it is an old Bone of Contention, yet I shall be able to obtain a Militia Law that I hope will be effective. I must beg leave to acquaint you, Sir, that besides the Land Forces that this Province maintains it has created a naval Establishment (which no other Province has) inabling me to keep up a twenty gun Ship called the King George and a snow of sixteen Guns called the Prince of Wales employ'd for his Majesty's Service in General, and in particular that of this Province which Supports them, and I have also given the Captains whom I have appointed, Orders that if in their Cruize they meet with any Intelligence or any other Matter that can be of use to his Majesty's Service, they immediately repair to Admiral Holbourn with it, and in general that they give all aid and assistance to his Majesty's Service.

I have the honor to be Sir

Your most Obed! and Most Humble and faithfull Servant

T. Pownall.

GOVERNOR POWNALL TO PITT 3

Boston, Aug. 22nd 1757.

Sir.

I have sent you a Particular Account by two ships that sail'd from hence this last week for England, one of which goes North about and the other to touch at the first Western Port she comes to; of all the Events which happen'd up at the Forts W. Henry and Edward as also particulars of my

¹ See note to following letter.

³ A. and W. I., vol. 71.

² A vessel equipped with two masts, resembling the mainmast and foremast, and a third small mast just abaft and close to the mainmast, carrying a trysail. Vessels are no longer rigged in this way. *Cent. Dict.*

Proceedings thereon, You will no doubt by this Packet receive particulars from New York so I do not trouble you wth any particulars but to acquaint you as above. if anything further happens I shall write by a vessel that is to sail from hence to the Groin this next week.

I have the Honor in this to enclose a copy of a Letter from Col. Frye who commanded the Regt of this Province consisting of 1,800 Rais'd for the Service of this Campaign

under Mr Webb.1

I have the pleasure to acquaint you, Sir that Both Houses of the Legislature have approv'd my Measures tho' they exceeded the powers of their Charter and are providing for the expences incurred therein.2 I have the Honor to be

> Your most Obedient most Humble faithfull Servant T. Pownall.

GOVERNOR LYTTELTON TO PITT 3

CHARLES TOWN the 3rd of Sept. 1757.

Sir.

I have the honour to acquaint you that on the 1st Instant His Majesty's Ship the Falkland arrived here having under Convoy the Highland Battalion Commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Montgomery.⁴ They had a very prosperous passage and the Troops are in good health.

Their safe arrival must give the greatest Satisfaction to this and the neighbouring Provinces as they are a Corps admirably well calculated for American Service, and their junction with the Regulars now here is of the greatest

² On August 31 an Act was passed appropriating £1300 to be paid to the governor "to enable him to carry on the affairs of government." Acts and

Resolves of Massachusetts Bay, IV. 26.

3 A and W. I., vol. 71.

4 See note to letter of March 31, 1757.

¹ Frye's Journal is cited by Parkman among the authorities for his account of the affair of Fort William Henry, and extracts from that, and from a letter of Frye's to the Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, are given in Appendix F to Montcalm and Wolfe, II. 428.

Importance at this Time, as I fear it will be many Months before the Regiment raising here is Completed from the prodigious Scarcity of Persons proper and willing to inlist.

I transmit duplicates of my Letters of the the and the of

I transmit duplicates of my Detters of the 12 and 30 o

July. I am with the greatest respect Sir,

Your most obedient and most faithfull humble Servant WILLIAM HENRY LYTTLETON.

GOVERNOR POWNALL TO PITT 1

Boston, Sep. 4th 1757.

Sir.

Since I had the Honour of writing to you last on the 16th and 18th of August.2 Copies of which Letters I sent three several Ways, Acquainting you, Sir, that the French after destroying all the Works, and blowing up the Fort William Henry, had returned to Canada with their Booty: Also, Sir, acquainting you, that Mr Webb withdrawing his application for Militia that were mustering and marching towards and returning back those that had reached him, I countermanded all my orders, except a Standing one that the Militia be in readiness to March, such Detachments as I shall Order, at a Minute's Warning, I wish I could say that my Orders have been or will be obeyed to the effect I mean. The Militia of this Province is utterly ruined and lost, but this Matter I will lay before the Rt Honorable the Lords Commissioners for the Plantations: everything since that time remains quiet: On the 22th and the 25th of August I received Letters from Lord Loudoun acquainting me that he was embarked first with eight Battalions but since with ten, for New York³ (having added two since the Account I sent him

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 71. ² See letter of those dates.

³ Loudoun and Hardy reached Halifax with the fleet on June 30. Holburne arrived on July 10. The troops (some twelve thousand) were landed, but the preparations for the attack on Louisburg so lagged that the expedition was but just ready to sail on August 4, when information was obtained that all three French squadrons were safe in the harbor of Louisburg. The enemy's effective strength amounted to twenty-two ships of the line and several

of the success of M! Montcalm) I have his Lordship's direction to open all Letters directed to him on the Public Service, and to give Orders according to the Contents, till his Arrival, I have done so in every point required by his Lordship, or wherein I thought the Service might be forwarded, and I hope if everyone does their Duty, he at his Arrival, will find everything ready for him. —

His Lordship applied to me for Quarters for the Highland Battalion commanded by Lieu! Colonel Fraser.¹ I have the happiness, Sir, to acquaint you that I have contrary to the Opinion of the Governments best Friends here Suceeded in persuading the Legislature to find them Barracks Beds Utensils Firewood and Light, I take the Liberty to enclose

the Papers passed on this Point.2

From the Peculiar State that the Government is in, and from the Peculiar temper of the People in these Countries, I was forced to use a peculiar Method of Application, and to acquiesce in their peculiar Method of doing it; I am sensible that the Stepps I have ventured upon are liable to Censure, and that the Tenor of the Vote to which I have consented infringes upon the Rights of the Crown. I must therefore, Sir, humbly intreat of you to Report to his Majesty my Conduct in as favourable a Light as the Case will admitt, and that my succeding to carry without dispute a Point so earnestly recommended by the Crown, so much disputed and so strenuously opposed hitherto by the People, may plead some Excuse.

frigates. The garrison at Louisburg was said to number seven thousand men. Loudoun was forced to abandon his plan and return to New York. *Montcalm and Wolfe*, I. 471.

¹ See note to letter of March 31, 1757.

² Soon after his arrival in the colony, Pownall had ingratiated himself with Shirley's opponents. Through his influence the General Court was induced to provide barracks at the Castle for the regular troops. Later in the year (November), Loudoun demanded quarters for the officers in town, on the strength of the provisions of the Mutiny Act. The General Court, thereupon, passed an act embodying the principal provisions of the Mutiny Act, on the ground that the British Act did not, in its terms, extend to the colonies. Pownall persuaded Loudoun to accept this. Acts and Resolves, IV. 47, 112–118. See also, Pownall's letter of December 1, 1757.

Thro' a Dispute into which the two Houses of Legislature got engaged with each other, I have failed in my Application to them for Recruits to be sent to Admiral Holbourn, But I hope, Sir, it will be thought that this Province does its full part, towards the Naval Armament of the Crown, as it enables me to keep out at Sea two Vessells of War one a Twenty Gun Ship called the King George, and the other a Snow of Sixteen Guns called the Prince of Wales, employed in His Majesty's Service, and in the protection of the Trade and Fishery of this Country, whose standing Instructions from me are to give all Aid and Assistance to His Majesty's Service under the Command of Admiral Holbourn, and if during any Cruize upon which I shall order them, they do meet with any Intelligence that concerns His Majesty's Service, that they repair with all Diligence and Dispatch to the Admiral or the Commanding Officer for the time being, or if they meet with any Matter wherein the King's Service can any way be specially promoted, that they "engage in this to the utmost of their power & abilities." This Service to the Crown this Province alone does, while others are fitting out Privateers, Admiral Holbourn asked but for forty or fifty Men; We humbly hope that the 140 Men on board the King George and the 85 Men on board the Prince of Wales, thus truely and faithfully employed in His Majesty's Service, is our Sufficient Quota to the Sea Service, and much beyound what was ever expected of us: I dare venture to think Admiral Holbourn will judge so, and will not according to his Promise press our People, which so much distresses the Fishery, as one Man pressed out of a Fishing Vessell intirely breaks up that Voyage, and it is by the Fishery alone this Province is supported.

I have not yet heard that Lord Loudoun is arrived at New York; I expect every Moment to hear so by Express from his Lordship, I detain the Ship that is ready to sail in hopes of hearing: We have had nothing but Calms and contrary Winds since his Lordship took his departure from

Nova Scotia.

I have received a Letter from Admiral Holbourn, who is

returned to Halifax, he went and looked into Louisbourgh Harbour within less than a League, he counted two and twenty Sail of Ships of War, seventeen of the Line. The List is, as in the enclosed Paper which I directed to be printed by Order. I know Admiral Holbourn has sent this Account by the Speedwell, but least she should fail to arrive I take the

Liberty to Repeat it.1

I had ordered a hundred Whale boats from the County of Barnstable for Lord Loudoun's Use. I have this Moment a Return that Nine Sloops with Seventy Whale Boats are saild from Nantucket the rest gone from Barnstable to New York and will I hope be there as soon as Lord Loudoun arrives as I have just now an Account that his Lordship was last Sunday off the East end of Long Island I have the honor to be Sir — with all Duty & Respect

your Most Obed! & most Faithfull Servant

T. Pownall.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO PITT²

WILLIAMSBURG, Sept: 12th 1757.

Right Honble

Inclosed you have copy of my two last letters of the 18th and 20th of June,3 to which please be refer'd. The Account we had of the French and Indians marching with a Train of Artillery from Fort Du Quesne to invade some of our Colonies prov'd to be a false Alarm, & we have been pretty quiet on our Frontiers ever since my last, only a few scouting Parties from the Enemy have murder'd some of our unguarded Frontier Settlers; our Forces join'd with some Indians have several times march'd against the Enemy scalp'd some of them and brought in four Prisoners; the Indians being a very unsettled sett of People most of them are return'd to their own Nations, but they propos'd returning

A. and W. I., vol. 71. See letters of those dates.

Holburne hoped to draw the French admiral outside and bring on a general engagement, but was disappointed. See his letter of September 17, 1757.

in two Moons; by good Treatment and Presents they went away pretty well satisfied, that I hope we have engag'd the Catawbas & Cherokees to our Interest.

I acknowledge the Receipt of Yours of the 4th & 19th of Feby. In obedience to His Majesty's Commands I call'd the Council and Assembly and laid before them His Majesty's Orders & Desire. We rais'd 400 Men, who were sent to Lord Loudoun for the Royal Americans; and sent 200 Men to 5th Carolina to assist in protection of that Province. Our Regiment consists of near 900 Men, with 200 Rangers are employ'd on our Frontiers at different Stations—so that I must Remark this Dominion have given a Testimony of their Obedience to His Majesty's Royal Orders, more than any one Colony on this Continent:—The Proprietary Governments behave most shamefully.²

I shall be particularly careful to give Adm! Holbourn or the Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Navy in these Parts all the Intelligence I can meet with or procure in regard to His Majesty's Service. The raising of Seamen by me will be difficult as the Seat of Government is Inland, but shall give all the Assistance I can to the Station Ship,

when Orders come for that Purpose.

We were greatly alarm'd here on the Enemy's taking Fort William Henry, which gives great Spirits to the French Indians though from the brave Resolution of the Besieg'd that Fort cost them dear, having kill'd many of their Men on their different Attacks, I hope Lord Loudoun will ballance

that Account with them.

We hear the Squadron under the Command of Admiral Holbourn, with the Forces from Britain join'd His Lordship at Nova Scotia the Beginning of July, but I fear it's too late in the Season to go up St Lawrence, but I hope he will attack and take Cape Briton, where they say the Enemy have a large Squadron of Ships, but cannot think they are equal to those under the Command of Admiral Holbourne,

³ Cape Breton Island.

¹ See letters of those dates.

² See on this head, Loudoun's letter of June 17, 1757.

& therefore if his Lordship thinks proper to attack it, I sincerely hope and heartily wish Success may attend; his Lordship is so very close & secret in all his operations that Nothing perspires here, and I doubt not You may have Account of his Proceedings sooner than we can.

In Justice to Gov. Lyttleton of Sth Carolina I must acknowledge, his joining his Interest & Application to the Cherokees & Catawbas,1 has had the desir'd Effect, & I hope we shall be able to keep those People stedy in our Interest, and every Thing in my Power to contribute to so Necessary an Affair shall be done with great Chearfulness.

I was in hopes of His Majesty's Royal Letter of Leave to come Home for recovery of my Health, which is greatly impair'd. I beg leave to assure You that with great Defer-

ence & due Respects I remain Right Honble Your Most Obedient humble Servant

ROBT DINWIDDIE.

PITT TO GOVERNORS IN NORTH AMERICA AND THE WEST INDIES 2

WHITEHALL Sept 16th 1757.

Sir,

Mons' d' Abreu, Envoy Extraordinary from His Catholick Majesty, having lately delivered divers Complaints of Violences and Depredations, (particularly mentioned in the enclosed Paper) committed by His Majesty's Subjects in America, against Those of Spain; I am to inform You, that the King, seeing with the highest Disapprobation, the daily Growth of such scandalous Disorders, and having Nothing more at Heart, than to stop the Progress of Practices, which if not repressed, must involve His Majesty in odious Disputes with all the Neutral Powers of Europe, is determined to Exert the full Authority of the Law, in Vindication of the Justice of his Crown, and of the Honor of the

¹ The Cherokee Indians dwelt along the Virginia border and in the lower valley of the Ohio river.

A. and W. I., vol. 75. Printed in Col. Rec. of R. I., VI. 100; N.H. Prov. Papers, VI. 610; Col. Rec. of Penn., VIII. 18; N.C. Col. Rec., V. 785.

British Nation; and, in this View, I am hereby to signify to You His Majesty's Pleasure, that you do enforce, with the utmost Vigor, the Observance of the Additional Instruction of Oct^r the 5th to all Privateers; and employ uncommon Care and Diligence effectually to prevent, and, if possible to cut up by the Roots, all Excesses and Enormities, alledged to be committed in Violation of the just Freedom of Navigation of His Catholick Majesty's Subjects; And whereas, with regard to all Spanish Vessels, bound to a Port of Spain in America, the Case of Contreband cannot exist, It being self-evident, that no Effects whatever, carried by a Nation to Its own Ports, can, in any Case, fall under that Description; It is His Majesty's Pleasure, that You do give the strictest Orders, that no Spanish Ship, under those circumstances, be disturbed or molested in their Navigation; and that, in case of Outrages or Depredations, committed on the same, you do your utmost to discover all such Violaters of Justice, and Disturbers of the Harmony subsisting between the Two Nations, & to bring the same to condign & exemplary Punishment.

I am &c

W. PITT.

ADMIRAL HOLBURNE TO PITT²

NEWARK OFF LOUISBOURG. 17th Sept 1757.

Sir,

I wrote to the Earl of Holderness by the Speedwell the 20th of last Month, and Enclose a Duplicate of my Letter to His Lordship by which you will see the Situation of this Squadron at that time.

I have now the honour to acquaint you, that after I had satisfied myself, by a clear and distinct view of the Enemy's force in the Harbour of Louisbourg, I thought it necessary

¹ For the Instructions, see *Penn. Archives*, III. 3. All goods not contraband, on board Spanish ships, were to be unmolested.

to call together the three Senior Officers and to advise with them in what Manner I might best employ the Squadron for His Majesty's Service and the annoyance of the Enemy, They agreed with me that it was not adviseable to continue cruizing off the Port of Louisbourg, as the Squadron would be thereby exposed to the risque of Seperation, in the Fogs so frequent in this Coast; it was therefore agreed to Rendezvous in Torbay 1 seven Leagues to the Westward of Canso and to remain there, till with all the Expedition we could, we had fitted the two Sloops for fireships, but whilst we were considering this Matter a Thick Fog came on and obliged the Gentlemen to hasten back to their Ships, and the next day on a more strict examination, of the most skillfull of the Pilots Torbay was found to be very rocky, and open to Southerly winds, which made it unsafe for the Ships to ride in, beside that whilst we were embay'd here the Enemy might pass us and get to the Westward: For these Reasons the Rendez-Vous was changed to Halifax, when we came off this Port, the wind blowing right onshore, and the weather thick & hazey, I thought it most adviseable to come to an Anchor in the Entrance of the Harbour, and this judged the more necessary as the Ferret Sloop I had sent before me for Intelligence and dispatches had mistaken her course and was not arrived, and as I had some Matters to settle with Major General Hopson and the Lieutenant Governor relative to the Protection and Safety of the Province, As soon as I came to an Anchor, I ordered all the Ships to keep themselves in readiness for the Sea on the shortest Notice, and it was resolved by the Rear Admiral Commodore Holmes, Capt: Fowke and myself, that we should remain in the Entrance of the Harbour, where we had Anchored, and that we should keep the Ships together that we might be ready to protect and assist any part of His Maj^{ys} Dominions in North America that might be in danger from the Enemy, and that in the Meantime the best sailing Vessels that could be got should be hired, to go off the Coast of Louisbourg to

¹ Also written Tor Bay. A bay on the southern coast of Nova Scotia, and near the eastern end of the peninsula. See map in Winsor, V. 485.

procure Intelligence and to watch the Motions of the Enemy's

Four Transports with part of the Highland Battalion arrived here the 24th past, but the *Enterprise* with the rest of the Transports not before the 28th, I dispatched her next day to Boston with the Money she had in for the Troops, and from thence ordered her to Anopolis for the Protection

of that Place together with the Portmahon.

The Somerset & Eagle arrived here the 5th in the Afternoon when I had the honour of your letter of the 7th of July with the very agreable news of my being reinforced by four Line of Battle Ships, I lost no time in compleating the Somerset & Eagle for Sea, and tho' I ordered all the Coats in the Fleet to assist them, it was the 9th before we could weigh, and then with a very faint Land Breeze which soon failing we were obliged to come to an Anchor, the 10th we weighed again with a better prospect of getting out, but the Land Breeze failing before we could clear the Land, we were obliged to Return, and come to an Anchor once more, in the Entrance of the Harbour to prevent some of the Ships driving ashore.

The Eleventh in the Morning contrary to the opinion of the Pilots I made the signal to weigh and happily got out, but the wind soon shifted to the Eastward: when we were three or four leagues off the Land the Cruizer Sloop joined me, by her I have the honour of your Letter of the 17th July with a Duplicate of that of the 7th of the same month, an hour or two after the Cruizer joined me we saw two large Ships to the Westward which I take to be the Devonshire and Prince Frederick; I have sent a Sloop with Orders to Captain Gordon for both Ships to join me without going into Port, as I chuse rather to supply them with Water or what else they may want from the Ships with me.

I applied to the Several Governments on the Continent for a Supply of Men to replace such as we had lost by death and Desertion, but my Applications of this kind proving altogether unsuccessfull, I was reduced to the Necessity of making a Press at Halifax, by which, and the detachment

of the Battalions from that Place, I have just been able to compleat the Complements of the Ships, I discharged immediately all such Men as had been taken from coasting or provision Vessels, those I kept having been chiefly press'd from the Transports, which I have ordered to be man'd with recover'd Men from the Hospital, so that I hope they will be ready to proceed to England with the other Transports when they return from New York and the Bay of Fundy, and when the whole are got together I have ordered them a Convoy consisting of two Frigates a Sloop and the two Bombs.—

Yesterday at noon the Devonshire & Prince Frederick join'd me but as I had sent the Centurion & Hunter the 14th to look into Louisbourg, I defer'd closing my Letter till

their Return.

The Captains Mantell & Laforey are just now return'd and acquaint me that they had been baffled by winds which prevented their getting near enough to look into Louisbourg, but that they saw a Man of War off that Port making Signals, as I had reason to believe the Enemy was appriz'd of my being on the Coast, I thought it no longer necessary to keep at a distance as I once intended in hopes of drawing the whole or some part of them out after Cruizers, and looking on it to be of great Consequence to give you certain Intelligence of their Strength I went near enough with the Squadron to see their Vice & Rear Admirals & the two Chef d'Escadre with the same Number of Line of Battle Ships & Frigates we had formerly seen.

There is no judging when the Enemy will move but I think it probable they will make a push to get out about the latter end of this Month, or sooner if they are short of Provisions, it is equally difficult to guess at the Course they will steer when they get near the Coast of France, as that will depend much on the Intelligence they may have of the Motions of our Fleets but I am inclined to think Brest is the Port they will endeavour to make, in this View I intend to steer for Ushant & have given out a Rendezvous fifteen Leagues to the Westward of it a Copy whereof I enclose.

As its my indispensible duty, it shall likewise be my earnest Endeavour to draw the Enemy out to Action, but if I should fail in this I will do my utmost to keep near them, and should they make their Escape from the Harbour by my being blown off the Coast, or by any other unavoidable Accident, I will then follow them close to Europe and Exert my utmost Dilligence to fall in with them in the passage or to meet them on the Coast of France, I enclose a Line of Battle of the Ships with me with a List of the rest and how they are Employ'd.

I dispatch the Hunter with this as she sails better then any other Sloop with me & Cap! Laforey having been yesterday within Gun Shot of the Fortress of Louisbourg will be able to answer any Enquiries you shall think fit to make relating to the Situation of the Enemy. I have the

Honour to be with the greatest Respect Sir

Your most obed! & most Humble Ser!

FRA: HOLBURNE.

I forgot to take Notice that on the tenth two of the Vessels I hired to go off Louisbourg with a Commission Officer in each, return'd and acquainted me that they look'd in the 7th, and that all the men of war with the Admirals and Chef d'Escadres which we saw the 19th & 20th of last Month were still in that Port.

F. H.

PITT TO ADMIRAL HOLBURNE²

WHITEHALL. Sept. 21st 1757.

Sir,
The King having taken under Consideration the 10th Article of your Instructions, dated the 19th of Febry last, whereby you are directed "when the Season of the Year shall render it unsafe for the ships to keep the Seas in North America, to return to England with such Part of your Squadron, as you shall think proper, leaving such Force under the Command of a Flag Officer, or of a Captain only,

¹ See letter of September 4, and notes.

² A. and W. I., vol. 75.

as shall be superior to any Force, which, from the best Intelligence you shall be able to obtain, the Enemy may have in those Parts." And also the Orders sent you in my Letters of July 7th and 18th, that, in Case of the French Fleet sailing Homewards, you should follow them, as close as may be, and with the utmost Expedition, in Order, if possible, to fall in with them, either before they reach Europe; or on the Coasts of France; His Majesty has thought proper to order this Sloop to be dispatched to you, with Directions, that, in Case the French Fleet, or the greatest part thereof, shall return from North America to Europe, not in Squadron, but separately and dispersedly, so that It shall not be necessary for you, in order to be superior to any such Parts, or small Divisions, of the said French Fleet, to follow them with your whole Force, collected in one Body, It is His Majesty's Pleasure, that you do give Orders to Eight of the King's Ships of the Line, taking Care to chuse such, as shall be in best Condition, and fittest for that Service, to remain, under the Command of Sir Charles Hardy, in North America, and to winter at Halifax, notwithstanding any former Order, or Instruction, to the contrary; and in Case the Eight Ships of the Line, as ordered above, shall not be superior to such Part of the Enemy's Fleet, as they may determine to have, in North America during the Winter; It is His Majesty's further Pleasure, that you do give Orders for such other Ships to remain at Halifax; over and above the Eight Ships before mentioned, as you shall judge proper, in order to render the Naval Force of His Majesty in those Parts, superior to that of the Enemy.

I am &c:-

W. PITT.

GOVERNOR POWNALL TO PITT 1

New York. Sep. 24. 1757.

Sir,

Mr Belcher, Governor of New Jersey, dyed on the 31st of August last, by his death that Government devolves on me

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 71.

as His Majesty's Lieutenant Governor thereof. I receiv'd at Boston on Sept! the 10th an account of his death & from Lord Loudoun on Sept! 11th an Account of the Situation that things were in New Jersey. I sett out immediately for New Jersey and arriv'd there in seven daies. I found matters had been going extremely wrong, during the Interval of M! Belcher's death and the President's qualifying: I have laied these Matters before the Lords of Trade; My coming has sett all right, I do not therefore trouble you with them. Upon my Arrival I took upon me the Government, gave Orders for raising a Company of Rangers 3 as desired by Lord Loudoun: laied before the Council the Earl of Holdernesses letter of May 20, with the enclosed additional Instruction 4 and Mr Townshends letter with the annex'd Affidavits and gave Orders thereupon: Concerted Matters with the President John Reading Esq! settled the Administration in his hands, promising that if any Matter Extraordinary should arise or of such Nature as might require more vigorous execution than his weak State of health would enable him to go thro' with, that I would return to his Assistance and the Service of the Province. The King's Business in my Government of Messachusett's bay requiring my return to Boston, I have left the Province of New Jersey & the Government thereof in the hands of the President as His Majesty's Commission & Instructions direct and am here in my way back.

It is, Sir, impossible that I can execute as I ought His Majesty's Business in both Governments near 400 miles distant from each other: I shall alway think it my duty to beg leave to resign any Command that I cannot faithfully and effectually fullfill: I hope therefore His Majesty will be graciously pleas'd to supersede my Command as Lieutenant

¹ See note to letter of July 15, 1757.

² Pownall's letter to the Lords of Trade is in N.J. Arch., VIII. Pt. II. 266.

³ The act for raising a company of one hundred rangers had passed both houses.

⁴ Instructions respecting the Conduct of Privateers in the Gulf of Naples, of January 11, 1757.

Governor of his Province New Jersey and that some Person from England disinterested and disengaged from any Connections in the Proprietary Interests of New Jersey may be sent over as Governor forthwith. I have, Sir, punctually since my Arrival at Boston, Augt 3rd acquainted you with every Event & Transaction that has happen'd & been done relative to the General Service, as connected with my Government of Messachusetts Bay. As soon as I return there I shall hope to be enabled by the Legislature there to furnish Lord Loudoun with any Rangers he shall want for his Command.

I have already upon the Frontiers of the Province under my Command several Companies of Rangers & a number of little fortifyed Posts. These Rangers by alternate Parties do keep up a continual Scout from one Fort to another, by which we have hitherto prevented any Inroads or Murthers being committed by the French or Indians in the

Province of Messachusetts Bay.

The Militia of the Province both in the Law on which it is founded, in the Discipline on which it should be Fram'd, & also by the Perversion of it to the Purposes of Interestmaking in Election matters is too much non-effective. The evil has taken too deep root, and too many and too powerful Interests are involved in it to make it practicable to reform the whole. I have proposed an Effectual Militia-Law to the Legislature, and the form in which I hope to carry it, is upon the Idea of forming from the whole Militia [above 40,000 Men] a Piquet Guard of about 6,000 well arm'd Disciplined and ready to turn out to Real Service whenever the Circumstances of the Service shall require it. Which I cannot but suppose is better than the whole which will never turn out (as now circumstanced) to any Effective Purpose: - I have prepared Barracks Barrack Utensils Bedding & Firewood for a thousand men and officers as desired by Lord Loudoun.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most Obedient Most Faithfull & most humble servant T. Pownall.

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ADMIRAL HOLBURNE TO PITT 1

NEWARK AT SEA. 29th Septem: 1757.

Sir,

I had the honour to acquaint you in my Letter of the 17^{th 2}; a Duplicate whereof I enclose that I was then cruizing off Louisbourg in hopes of falling in with the Enemy's Fleet near that Port, or in their Passage to Europe, whither I intended to follow them close should they Escape me here.

I have now the inexpressible Mortification to acquaint you that on the the being Ten Leagues South of Louisbourg, towards the Evening of that Day it began to blow very hard at East, and had the wind continued in that Quarter, we could have done very well, as there was Room enough for the Ships to drive, but veering round to the Southward it blew a perfect Hurricane, and drove us right onshore, the Wind continued Violent till near eleven next day, when providentially & happily for us it came round to the Westward of the South, we had but just room to wear the Ship clear of Breakers, and saw several Ships at an Anchor with most of their Masts gone, without having it in our power to give them the least Assistance in this great Distress, and had the Wind continued to blow onshore but one hour longer every Ship of the Squadron must unavoidably have been lost.³

I stood off seven Leagues & brought to, in order to pick up and assist as many Ships as I could, the 26th in the Morning we saw sixteen Sail, six of them dismasted, and two of these being a great way to Leeward I sent the Bedford & Defiance to take them in Tow & bring them to Halifax if the Wind & Weather would permitt, but if they should by the Wind's continuing westerly have no Prospect of getting to Halifax they were to proceed with them to Aga Fort in Newfoundland and from thence to England.

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 85.

² See letter of that date.

³ See Parkman's account of this gale in *Montcalm and Wolfe*, I. 472. Entick says that Holburne lost one ship outright, while twelve were dismasted, and others badly damaged. *History of the Late War*, II. 394.

I am now so far to the Southward as the Isle of Sable, endeavouring to get to Halifax, and have dispatch'd the Lightning to go off Louisbourg with Orders for any of our Cruizers she may find there, and two Transports I had ordered with Water, to leave the Station and return to Halifax, after which Capt. Martin is to look into Louisbourg to observe the Condition of the Enemy, who I have reason to believe have not escaped the Rage of the Hurricane, as for some part of the Time, it blew right into the Harbour.

I cannot enough regret this great & melancholy Disaster to His Majys Ships, as after my last Reinforcement I found myself in so good a Condition to watch the Enemy's Motions, and had flatter'd myself they could not well escape me here, or in their Passage to Europe. I inclose a State of the Ships now with me and the best Account I can collect of

such as I have not seen since the Storm.

By the time I have the Squadron fitted for their Passage Home, the Season will be so far advanced that there can be no danger of the Enemy's making any Attempt on Halifax, it is only the Security of that Place that makes me prefer returning to it rather than to take the Advantage of the Wind and go directly to Newfoundland. I shall lose no time in fitting the Ships for their Passage Home, and in proceeding with them to England as soon as that can possibly be done. I have the Honour to be with the greatest respect Sir

Your most obed! and most Humble Serv.

FRA: HOLBURNE.

ADMIRAL HOLBURNE TO PITT 1

NEWARK AT SEA. 30th Septem: 1757

Sir, I had the Honour to write to you yesterday by the Cruizer Sloop 2 and herewith enclose a Duplicate of that Letter.

I am now to acquaint you that finding the disabled Ships very much retarded my Passage to Halifax, where I thought

² See the preceding letter. ¹ A. and W. I., vol. 85.

it might be of great Importance to carry the Serviceable Ships for the Protection of that Place, should the Enemy have any Designs against it; and should all their Ships remain unhurt by the late Storm, it is not unlikely that the damages they saw many of ours sustain on their Coast, might encourage them to some such Attempt, at least I thought it became me to be very watchfull of them in this Respect; I considered likewise that the disabled Ships were in so shatter'd a Condition as to be but ill able to bear a Winter Passage, and that having now all the Month of October before them in which there is often a great deal of moderate Weather, there was a much greater probability of their reaching England in Safety than if they were delayed by being carried into Halifax, for these and other reasons it was judged most adviseable by the Rear Admiral, the two senior Captains and myself to dispatch them immediately to England, and I have accordingly directed Sir Charles Hardy to hoist his Flag on board the Windsor, one of the Ships that has all her Masts standing, and to take under his Command the disabled Ships in Sunderland the Margin, with such others as he may meet with in his Passage, and to proceed with the whole to the first Port he can reach in England. I have the Honour to be, with the greatest [Respect] Sir,

your most obed! & most Humble Servant

FRA: HOLBURNE.

ADMIRAL HOLBURNE TO PITT 1

NEWARK IN HALIFAX HARBOUR. 13 Oct. 1757.

Sir.

I had the Honour to write you the 30th last Month by Sir Charles Hardy, to inform you of the Situation of this Squadron, I enclose a Copy of my Last and am now to acquaint you that I arrived here the 4th in the Evening with Eight Line of Battle Ships one of which I met at sea dis-

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 85. ² See the preceding letter.

masted & as the Wind was then favorable thought it best

to bring her with me to this Port.

The 30th I dispatch'd the Lightning off Louisbourg to observe the State of the Enemy and with Rendez-vouses for any disabled Ships she might meet with, Capt. Martin was afterwards to make the best of his way to this Port but he is not yet return'd.

The Sixth the Kennington & Gibraltar Prize sail'd to

look into Louisbourg for gaining Intelligence of the State of the Enemy & the Condition of their Ships. . . .

The Seven Ships that remain with me have been fitting ever since our arrival here, having all of them suffered considerably in the late Gale of Wind, but they are now ready

for the Sea. -

I am waiting for the Return of our Cruizers, and shall conduct myself according to the Intelligence they may bring, in the best Manner I can for His Majesty's Service, as soon as I find myself at Liberty to leave this Place be assur'd Sir, I will lose no Time in returning to England as nothing but the Security of this Province detains me here at this advanc'd Season of the Year.

The Highland Battalion embark'd the 10th, the Earl of Loudoun having desired their being sent to New York. . . . I send this by the Nottingham, whose Captain has the care of the Convoy and have the Honor to be with the

greatest Respect Sir,

Your most obedient & most Humble Servant FRA: HOLBURNE.

ADMIRAL HOLBURNE TO PITT 1

NEWARK IN HALIFAX HARBOUR. 15th Oct. 1757.

Sir,

In my letter of the 13th 2 by the Nottingham, I had the honour to acquaint you, that on the 6th I ordered Cap: Stott of the Gibraltar Prize with two other Cruizers to go off

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 85.

² See the preceding letter.

Louisbourg to look into that Port, and carefully to observe, the Situation, Number, and Condition of the Enemy's Ships. Cap: Stott returned yesterday and brings the Intelligence contain'd in the enclos'd Report he has made to me. By the present Situation of the Enemy's Ships as they are all ready for the Sea, and as this is about the Time in which they usually leave N. America, I am of opinion they will, if they have not already, taken the advantage of this favorable Wind, which has been northerly these three days, and sail to Europe; As I am no longer in a Condition to obey that Part of the Letter you did me the honour to write to me the 17th July,1 to act with Vigor against the Enemy, I think it of Importance to comply with that part of it still in my Power directing me to gain the best Intelligence I can of the Strength, Condition & future Destination of the Enemy's Ships that dispositions might be made for intercepting them on the Coast of France as they return Home, for that Purpose I dispatch Cap: Stott to England, and have directed him to go Express with my Letters, that he may answer any Question you shall think proper to ask him.

The Lightning is just return'd but brings no Intelligence as she was chac'd off the Coast of Louisbourg by a large

Ship and a Frigate the 7th.

This Evening a Sloop sails, as I think it necessary to continue sending a Succession of Vessels to observe the Motions of the Enemy that I may lose no Time in returning home with the Squadron as soon as I can think myself at Liberty to do it with Security to His Majesty's Dominion in these Parts.

I look daily for the Return of the Kennington with further

Accounts of the Enemy's Ships.

I enclose a Copy of my Letter by the Nottingham & have the Honor to be with the greatest Respect Sir

Your most obedient and most Humble Servant
FRA: HOLBURNE.

GOVERNOR EDWARDS TO PITT 1

ST. Johns, Newfoundland. 18th Oct. 1775.

Sir,

I have the Honour to own the Receipt of Mr Foxe's Letter of the 18th of June, 1756, in regard to receiving French Prisoners on shore in this Island. Yours of the 7th of December. Another of the 4th of February last, Signifying His Majesty's Pleasure to raise a large Number of Provincial Troops etc; another of the 19th that Rear Admiral Holburne was appointed to command a strong Squadron of Ships in North America etc: — Also three Letters from Lord Holderness, the first dated the 2nd of May last, for the Embargo to be immediately taken off from all Vessels Laden with Corn etc: for Great Britain and Ireland: The Second dated the 14th with His Majesty's most Gracious Pardon to Lawrence Lambey, Paul Macdonald, John Moody, John Munshall, and Dennis Hawkins, for the murder of Will. Keen Esq. which was Publickly read in the Court House at St Johns the 13th of Sept and the said Five Men released accordingly, with my Orders for their being sent out of the Island the first opportunity which has been done: 2 The third dated the 20th Inclosing the Extract of a Letter from Vice-Admiral Townshend, of the Pyratical Behaviour of Several Privateers from North America, with His Majesty's Pleasure therein.

I have given Commissions and Orders for raising Four Companies of Militia for the District of St Johns, each Company consisting of Eighty Men, Officers included, with Orders to the Commandant for the Military Officers to be Aiding

and Assisting in Instructing them in their Exercise.

On my Arrival, having certain Information of a strong Fleet of the Enemy's Ships being at Louisburg, I made some

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 71. Richard Edwards was governor of Newfoundland from 1757 to 1760. His administration is described by Prowse as "active and spirited." *History of Newfoundland*, 294.

² Keen was a magistrate who was murdered partly from motives of revenge. Nine people were concerned in the crime. Four of these were hung. Prowse,

History of Newfoundland, 292.

Addition to the Battery for the Defence of the Entrance of this Harbour, but am sorry to say the Fortifications of the Island in general, are not in the best Condition, particulars of which I have transmitted to the Honourable Boards of Trade and Ordnance.

I am with all due Respect Sir Your most Obedient & very Humble Servant R. EDWARDS.

ADMIRAL HOLBURNE TO PITT 1

NEWARK AT HALIFAX. 20th October, 1757.

Sir,

I had the honor to write to you by Capt. Stott the 14th instant, I inclose a Duplicate of that Letter, and have now to acquaint you that the Kennington and Hawke are ready to sail off Louisbourg to observe the motions of the Enemy. ... The 12th & 13th Instant two Flags of Truce arrived here from Canada, but last from Louisbourg, with part of three hundred Prisoners taken after the Capitulation at Fort William Henry by the Indians, and carried to Quebec; 2 the English Pilots and officers in these Vessels acquaint me that they left sixteen Sail of Line of Battle Ships in the harbour, and saw two more off the Port of Louisburg, from whence they had gone to Canada, and were then returning, and that there were also four Frigates in the harbour. We likewise learn that the Enemy are all ready to sail, except the Tonnant, and Bien acquise of forty Guns, both of which had been drove ashore in the late Gale of Wind, and received considerable damage; that they are very short of Provisions, and have been Sickly: that they have distributed the remains of the Tilbury's Crew, being two hundred and eighty, and one hundred Prisoners taken in the Province Snow of New England, with others, amounting in the whole to about Nine hundred, taken by the Men of War

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 85.

² By the terms of capitulation the English garrison was to be escorted to Fort Edward by a detachment of French troops.

early in the Season in their Passage from France, and the West Indies, to Louisburg: a few small Vessels of little value have lately been taken to the Southward of the Latitude of Forty, by Privateer Schooners, as soon as a Twenty Gun Ship, or Sloop shall return from Anapolis or the Bay of Fundy, which I have been hourly looking for, I will dispatch one of them to cruize for Privateers in that Latitude; I have the honour to be with the greatest respect Sir Your most obed! & most Humble Servant

FRA: HOLBURNE.

GOVERNOR SHARPE TO PITT 1

Annapolis the 22d Oct. 1757.

Sir,

In the Letter which I addressed to you the 26th of May I informed you that the Assembly of this Province had in Compliance with the Earl of Loudoun's Requisition agreed to support Five Hundred Men for the Immediate Defence of the Province and to act on any Emergency in Conjunction with such other Forces as should be employed in these Parts to annoy His Majesty's Enemies. Some of these Men were by His Lordship's Orders marched to garrison Fort Cumberland 2 while the rest were left at Fort Frederick3 to patroll on our Frontiers at a small distance beyond the Settlements, and by this Disposition of them the Inhabitants have been so effectually secured this Summer from the Incursions of the Enemy that we have not lost a single Person, exclusive of Soldiers and Such as attended them. The Money which had been appropriated for the Support of these Troops being now expended, I have convened the Assembly again and recommended it to them to grant further Supplies for their Support, but I am sorry to inform you that they have absolutely refused to provide for any Men that are or may be ordered to Fort Cumberland, and that they are also resolved to reduce the Troops in the Pay of this Province to three

A. and W. I., vol. 71. Printed in Md. Arch., IX. 93.

² See note to letter of May 3, 1757.

³ See note to letter of February 23, 1757.

hundred, who shall they say on no Account whatever be employed otherwise than in garrisoning Fort Frederick and patrolling just beyond our Frontier Settlements. I am for my own Part well convinced that Nothing can contribute so much to the Safety of our People while we are obliged to carry on a Defensive War in these Parts as our keeping a Strong Garrison at Fort Cumberland or some other advanced Post; for though it may be proper to have a place of Strength and to have Parties patrolling near the Settlements, yet that alone will not be effectual. The Indians may pass them, come down, destroy the Inhabitants, and retire again in a few hours without being observed, and before an Allarm can be given; but when Another Considerable Body of Men is posted at a distance as at Fort Cumberland, & the Commanding Officer frequently sends small Parties to observe the Enemy's Motions, and keeps larger Ones constantly patrolling, the Indians find it no easy matter to make Incursions without being discovered; if they fall in with any Party from such advanced Post on their Way down their Progress is for that time stopped, for tho they should be victorious as has often happened this Summer, yet they dare not venture lower, lest the Alarm should be given and the Troops and Inhabitants on the Frontiers be prepared to receive them; and in case they should pass the Advanced Post, the Troops there will probably be advised thereof before they can retire and their Retreat will become very difficult. By these and many other Arguments I have endeavoured to convince the Assembly of the Use and Propriety of our supporting a Garrison at Fort Cumberland agreeable to the Earl of Loudoun's Requisition: but finding that they will not be diverted from the Resolution that they have taken by any Arguments that I can urge, nor by any Orders that the Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in America can issue, I have intreated the Earl of Loudoun to take some other Measures for the Preservation of Fort Cumberland, and lest the Troops that are at present there should be obliged to abandon that

¹ Sharpe expresses himself with indignation to Loudoun, in a letter of October 20. Md. Arch., IX. 91.

Place for want of Food, before I can be favoured with His Lordship's Answer to my Letter I have upon the Assembly's refusing to supply them, given Orders for their being furnished, upon my Account, with as much Provision as they shall stand in need of: - We are told by a Portuguese a Deserter from Fort Du Quesne that when he left that Place about two Months ago, the Garrison did not exceed four hundred Men. Since that time a Party of French and Indians have made an Incursion and carried off fifteen Persons from Virginia; another Body was designed against this Province but being discovered a few Miles from Fort Cumberland and having lost in a skirmish that ensued a Cadet that had (as appears by his Orders) the Command of them, they retired without doing the least Mischief. I had not the Honour to receive your Letter of the the of February till within these Six Weeks when I received one likewise from Admiral Holburne, wherein he required me to furnish him with a Number of Seamen for the Fleet that His Majesty had been graciously pleased to order to America under his Command. As soon as the Assembly met I submitted the Admiral's Letter as well as yours to their Consideration, and pressed them to enable Me to comply with the Admiral's Demand. In Answer to my Message they were pleased to assure me that they were sorry it was not in their Power to comply with my Request but that the Trade of this Province must be entirely ruined if any more of our Seamen should be taken away, and indeed so many of those that have been usually employed in our Trade have left Us to serve on board His Majesty's Ships or Privateers that it is not without the greatest difficulty the Masters of our Vessels homewardbound can engage a few Seamen to navigate them.² I am with the greatest Respect Sir

Your most Humble & Most Obedient Servant

HOR? SHARPE.

¹ See letter of that date.

² See Sharpe's letter to Holburne. Md. Arch., IX. 90.

GOVERNOR POWNALL TO PITT 1

N. England Boston. Oct. 29. 1757.

Sir.

Altho' it be notorious that The French sufferd the Capitulation, made by His Majesty's Troops on the Surrender of Fort W^m Henry, to be violated with the most aggravating Circumstances of Barbarity and tho many Shamefull Instances might be produced of their scandalous and dishonorable treatment of both Officers and Men, after the Capitulation without distinction beating abusing wounding robbing stripping of Arms and Cloaths and Papers and carrying away Prisoners, Yet as the Matter must be determined by Authenticated Facts in point respectively to each Article, I am collecting such. — The enclosed which I have the Honor to transmitt, are such as point to the Breach of the 7th Article. wherein it is stipulated "that all the sick and wounded, that are not in a Condition to be transported to Fort Edward shall remain under the Protection of Mr. Montcalm who will take care of them and return them as soon as recovered." 2 I confine myself to matters arising within the Troops of the Province that I have the Honor to command.

I am endeavouring to gett a List of those who were carried off by Canadiens and Indians that I may send it to Lord Loudoun, that He may by name demand them of Mr. Vaudrueil or Mr. Montcalm. I have the Honor to be with

most profound respect Sir

Your most obed! Faithfull & most Humble Servant
T. POWNALL.

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 71.

² Parkman quotes an attestation to the effect that all the sick men in the fort were instantly butchered. Montcalm and Wolfe, I. 505.

ADMIRAL HOLBURNE TO PITT 1

NEWARK, HALIFAX 4th Novem. 1757.

Sir,

* * * * * * *

The 22nd of last Month the Scarborough arrived: By her I had the Honor of your Letter of the 21st September,2 and in compliance therewith have given Orders Northumto the Eight Ships of the Line, named in the berland Margin to prepare for Wintering at Halifax, Terrible under the Command of Lord Colvill the Senior Kingston Captain, as Sir Charles Hardy is gone home. Orford . . . I have applied to Governor Lawrence for Arc-en-Ciel Sutherland ground on George's Island 3 (that being for Defiance many Reasons the properest Place) to build a Somerset Carreening-Wharf, and Store houses for the

conveniency of Cleaning and Fitting the large Ships: The Governor having readily agreed to whatever may be necessary in this Matter, I have directed a Number of Men to be sent from the Ships for leveling the Ground, and during my Stay here shall do everything else that may be necessary for forwarding the Work, leaving directions for carrying on and compleating the same.

The 25th past the Scarborough sailed with the Highland Battalion, she being the first Frigate I could get for this Service after my Lord Loudoun had desir'd their being sent to New-York; from thence the Transports are to proceed to England under the same Convoy, if my Lord shall not

think proper to detain them.

or their Return Home, and they will sail the 6th under Convoy of the Success, whose Captain carries my Letters.

⁴Loudoun left three battalions at Halifax for the winter, and sent two up

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 85.
² See letter of that date.

³ A small island to the northeast of Cape Canso, on the south coast of the peninsula, according to Cram's Atlas.

When I can learn how the Enemy's Ships are dispos'd of for the Winter, in obedience to His Majesty's Instructions, I shall lose no time in returning to England with the Newark as she is the least fit to remain here, and the only Ship of the Line above the Number directed to be left. I think it necessary to leave the Portmahon and Hawke here, as all the other Frigates and Sloops are sent to their Stations, or to England with Convoys or Dispatches. I am with the greatest Respect Sir

Your most obed! and most Humble Serv!

FRA: HOLBURNE.

P. S. 5. Novem. 1757.
The Hawke Sloop arrived today, forced in by Stress of Weather, having Sprung a Leak, and her Bowsprit; She parted from the Kennington the 30th past; three days before They looked into Louisburg where the French Fleet still remain'd.

GOVERNOR LAWRENCE TO PITT 1

HALIFAX. 9th Novem. 1757.

Sir,

I had the Honour to receive your Letter of the 19th of

February 2 last . . .

It has not been in my power sooner to acknowledge the receipt of his Majesty's Commands as I was ordered by his Excellency the Earl of Loudoun into the Bay of Fundy with two Battalions, to put the Garrison of Fort Cumberland Pisiquid and Annapolis Royal 3 in the best State of deffence they were capable of, and to repell any attempts the Enemy might meditate against the Isthmus 4 when it should come to be known at Louisbourg that his Lordship had returned with the Army to New York; and I am but a few days ago arrived here with the Troops that have been relieved from thence by his Lordship's directions.

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 71. ² See letter of that date.

³ The first two named were just south of Minas Basin.
⁴ The Isthmus of Chignecto. See note to letter of December 22, 1756.

I flatter myself that these Posts (particularly Fort Cumberland) from the Steps I have taken for their further Security, are in so good a posture of Deffence, as that there is little to be apprehended in that Quarter at least for this Winter,

where I left everything in perfect Tranquility.

I have nothing of moment to communicate to You Sir, at present, except that the French Fleet all saild from Louisbourg about the end of last month except two line of Battle Ships and a Fregate, which has determined the Admiral to return to England as soon as possible, leaving the remainder of his Squadron for the protection of this Province.

* * * * * * *

I am with all possible respect Sir Your most obedient and most hu

Your most obedient and most humble Servant Chas. Lawrence.

GOVERNOR POWNALL TO PITT 1

Boston November 26th 1757.

Sir,

The Earl of Loudoun by a Letter dated Albany November 15th acquaints me of an Alarm on the Mohawk's River by some Canadians and Indians supposed about 800: His Lordship immediately sent up Lord Howe to command the Troops on the River, and ordered more up after him, when Lord Howe ² arrived at Conajahare on the 14th he was informed that the Enemy had attacked the Settlements on the North of the River above Herkamers House where there is a Small Garrison: ³ Where they had destroyed the Habitations and carried off the Inhabitants on the 12th Conajohare is about 50 or 60 Miles from Albany, and this Settlement called Burnettsfield, or the German Flatts about

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 71.

² George Augustus, third viscount Howe, was associated with Abercromby in command, in December, 1757, after Loudoun's recall. He was killed in 1758, in a skirmish with the French advance before Ticonderoga.

³ About two hundred men were at the post. Some hundred and fifty, chiefly women and children, were made prisoners. See note to letter of

April 25, 1757.

120. Where a River called Canada Creek, runs into the Mohawk River.

Lord Loudoun by a second Letter November 17th acquaints me that Lord Howe is returned from Herkamers, the Enemy being retired and gone off.

I have the honor to be Sir with all Duty and Profound

Respect

Your most Obedient & most Humble Servant

T. POWNALL.

GOVERNOR POWNALL TO PITT 1

Boston, December 1st 1757.

Sir,

I had the honour to acquaint you, that upon an application from the Earl of Loudoun in August last for Quarters for one of the Highland Battallions, the Legislature enabled me to prepare Barracks for them, but these being upon the Island whereon Castle William stands, prove entirely insufficient for the purposes of the Recruiting Parties sent since into this Province; the Recruiting Officers therefore by my direction applyed to the Magistrates for Quarters;² the Magistrates apprehending that the Act of Parliament in this Point, did not extend to America, and that there was no Law of this Province impowring them to Billet Soldiers, told the Officers that they could not be justified in doing it, by Law, and refused to do it.

I immediately acquainted Lord Loudoun then at Albany with the State of the Case; his Lordship wrote me a Letter insisting on the Right of Quartering: The Legislature being now sitting, I immediately next morning sent a Message to them, layed Lord Loudoun's Letter before them, and required them to make Provision for Quarters in immediate Compliance to his Lordship's demand.

The two Houses went immediately into a Bill making Provision for Quartering these or any Recruiting Parties that should be sent into the Province, of which by their desire

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 71. ² See letter of September 4, 1757, and note.

I by Express acquainted his Lordship, and with all possible dispatch (sitting on Sunday) pass'd it thro' both Houses and sent it up to me, to which I gave my Assent, enacting it into a Law.

I think myself extreamly happy in having obtained, tho' not perhaps just in the way that might have been more agreeable, the end his Lordship seemed to aim at, as it may prevent any difference arising betwixt his Lordship and the People on the point of the Right, his Lordship apprehending as one point that the Act of Parliament in the Article of Quarters doth extend to North America, and as another, from the Nature and Necessity of the thing, he has a right to Quarter: The People on the other hand tho' they unanimously allow that from the Nature & Necessity of the thing, his Lordship ought to have a right to Quarter his Soldiers, yet the Act of Parliament not extending to America, and there being no Act of the Province for Quartering that it lyes with them to make Provision by Law.

And I have this day had the honour to acquaint his Lordship they have done so (for all Recruiting Parties) on the Same Terms, and at the Same Rates as are prescribed by Act of Parliament in England etc with a Penalty on the Magistrates refusing to do it. — I have the honor to be Sir in all Duty

& profound respect

Your most Obedient & most Humble Servant

T. Pownall.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR ELLIS TO PITT 2

GEORGIA. 10th Decem. 1757.

Sir,

'Tis but within these few days that I have had the honour to receive your Letter of the IIth of January from the Council Office, annexed to an Instruction from His Majesty relative to the Neutrality to be observed by our Ships in the Gulph

¹ Loudoun, in his exasperation, threatened to send troops to enforce his demands, if not complied with within forty-eight hours. Hildreth, II. 477.

² A. and W. I., vol. 71.

of Naples.1 — I shall take particular care to communicate these Instructions to the Commanders of any Private Ships of War that may put into the Ports of this Colony, and insist upon an exact obedience being shewn to them: - It gives me a great deal of Concern Sir that my Letters from the Ministry are so long on their way hither, and I am at a loss what to attribute this to. I did myself the Honour to write to you in August last, in answer to a Letter I had then from you, in which I gave a short description of our Situation.2 Since that time no material occurrence has happened, except that I have had a Great Meeting with the Head Men of the Creek Nation of Indians,3 renewed our Friendship & Alliance with them and settled some other Matters that hitherto had been productive of a good deal of uneasiness and altercation between us. This Sir is all I have been able to accomplish, for the French have acquired so strong a party in their Nation, that to propose to the Indians to act offensively against them, would have given great umbrage, and been employed to our disadvantage by the Enemy, who being yet weak on the Mississippi, make a virtue of Necessity in affecting the greatest moderation, & aversion to spilling human blood, which has made impressions in their favour upon the minds of the Savages. — I have distributed his Majesty's Presents to these Indians in as judicious and frugal a manner as I was capable, and dismissed them perfectly satisfied with their treatment.

It will be necessary to continue our attention and kindness whilst the French are so active and assiduous to corrupt them. The more effectually to counteract their Measures it would be highly requisite to have Annual Supplies of Presents. — This, tho' a considerable expence, may prevent a much greater one in maintaining an armed force here, which must be done should our Enemies gain their point. — Herewith I send a Copy of our Treaty: the Article respecting lands and Islands was inserted at the desire of the Indians themselves, and re-

² See letter of August 1, 1757.

¹ See note to letter of September 24, 1757.

³ The Creeks were the native Indians of the territory ceded to form the colony of Georgia, which lay between the Savannah and Altamaha rivers.

gards certain Claims that a Man trumped up here by Virtue of a Marriage with an Indian Woman, & a Purchase he pretends to have made from some of the principal people of that Nation. — This affair which has caused many Disputes with the Indians, strong apprehensions in the minds of our people, and a quantity of the best Lands on the front of the Province to remain waste, lies now before the Board of Trade, and it is greatly to be wished may soon be accommodated, as that would accelerate the Settlement of the Colony, and encrease our influence with the Savages, whom at present we are on

very good terms with.

Before the late Governor's departure he had begun (upon an alarm) to raise some Rangers. — The Officers for three Troops were commissioned, but only about forty Men of the first Troop were levied. These for some time were subsisted by means of negotiable Certificates, which acquired Credit from a prevailing notion that the Crown would discharge them as it had done those issued in the last War by Mr Oglethorpe. That expedient soon failing I have since been enabled to maintain them by a Credit the Earl of Loudoun gave me upon the Deputy Pay Master at New York until his Lordship should hear from home. - This is their present State and except those few Irregulars and a Detachment of about 60 Men from one of the Independent Companies of South Carolina² there are no Forces in this Province — I must beg leave to give it as my opinion Sir, that it would be highly advantageous to his Majesty's Service, to keep on foot a troop or two of these during the present War, as they are well calculated for this Company, being trained to charge both on foot, and on horseback and to ride full speed thro' the Woods.

I have wrote pretty fully on this subject to the Lords of

Trade, & the Agent for this Province.

I shall not here mention the defenceless Condition of this Country, as the Representation of it by our Assembly, which

¹ Governor Reynolds.

² See note to letter to the Governors of Southern Provinces, of February 4, 1757.

I have already transmitted to you, contains everything that

need be said on this point.

It may not be improper to acquaint you Sir, that the Spaniards are intent on settling a Colony of 500 Families in Florida, & that some misunderstandings have lately fallen out between them and the Indians, owing to some indiscretions of the former, and a jealousy entertained of their Encroachments by the latter. — I have wrote all I have been able to learn upon this Matter to the Board of Trade.

I have the honour to be with the utmost Deference &

Respect Sir,

Your most obedient and most Humble Serv!

HENRY ELLIS.

GOVERNOR POWNALL TO PITT²

Boston, December 28th 1757.

Sir,

The Papers enclosed that I have the honor to transmit are N° 1.— an original Letter from M! D'Aulnay Gov! of Accadie when part of the French Dominions, to the Gov! of Massachusetts Bay—dated from S! Johns in Accadie by which appears that the River S! Johns was then possess'd by the French as being in Accadie—as further that Pentagoët or Penobscot River was also in the same Province.3

No: 2 — A French Account of the Military Operations in America from the taking of Oswego in Aug! 1756 to the taking Fort William Henry in Aug! 1757 — In this letter some

² A. and W. I., vol. 71.

¹ Until the peace of 1763, when the country between the Alatamaha and St. Mary rivers was placed within the borders of Georgia, boundary questions were a source of constant irritation between that colony and Florida.

³ Previous to the conquest of Canada in 1763 the boundaries of the province of Nova Scotia were always in dispute. The treaty of that year explicitly states that "to the westward, although our said Province hath anciently extended, and doth of right extend, as far as the river Pentagoet or Penobscot, it shall be bounded by a line drawn from Cape-Sable across the entrance of the Bay of Fundy, to the mouth of the river St. Croix." Haliburton, Nova Scotia, I. 2.

material facts appear - One is the effect that the loss of Oswego had upon the Kenunctione or Five Confederate Nations: - Also the terms of the Treaty of Alliance with which they now stand connected with the French.

1st That they never suffer the English to build again at Oswego, nor any where within the Environs of Lake Ontario.

2nd That the French on their part settle Trading Houses and Magazines in their villages.

3rd That the Indians on their part, supply the French with their Young Warriours to assist them against their Enemies.

Another Fact appears in this Letter that the French Souldiers were the Plunderers who robb'd the Garrison of Fort

William Henry after the Capitulation.

No: 3 — A French Letter from the Officer of the Depots de Marine being an Account with a Mapp of the French Province Cayenne in South America—bordering on Surinam. This place was last Warr as I am inform'd Plunder'd by some English Privateers, is still as appears by the Account enclosed Defenseless.

I do not presume to judge of the above Matters, nor to point out any Measures that They may lead to, but I have as I thought it my Duty, transmitted the Papers

I have the honor to be With the most profound respect Sir Your most obed! most humble and faithfull Servant

T. POWNALL.

P. S. The Navigation to Surinam is as well known to the People of these Provinces as to any Ports of our own.1

T. P.

PITT TO LORD LOUDOUN²

WHITEHALL. 30th Dec. 1757.

My Lord,

I am with Concern to acquaint Your Lordship, that the King has judged proper, that your Lordship should return

¹ A flourishing trade with the Dutch colony had existed since the early years of the eighteenth century. Weeden, Econ. Hist. of N.E., 361, 362, ² A. and W. I., vol. 75. 658.

to England: And His Majesty having been pleased to appoint Major General Abercromby to succeed your Lordship as Commander in Chief of the King's forces in America 1 (for which purpose the necessary Commissions, and Instructions, are sent to Him by this Conveyance,) I am to signify to your Lordship His Majesty's Pleasure, that you do deliver to Major General Abercromby Copies of all the Instructions, and Orders, that have been given, or sent to Your Lordship, since you were appointed Commander in Chief of the King's Forces in North America, together with Copies of all other Papers that may relate to His Majesty's Service, & which may be any way material to enable Major General Abercromby to execute the Command The King is pleased to honor him with. The Lords of the Admiralty have directed His Majesty's ship the Hampshire to receive your Lordship on Board and proceed with you to England, And the said Ship has orders to wait a month for Your Lordship, by which time it is hoped, You will be able to embark, without any Inconvenience.

I am etc:—

W. PITT.

PITT TO GENERAL ABERCROMBY 2

WHITEHALL. 30th Decr. 1757.

Sir,

The King having judged proper that the Earl of Loudoun should return to England; I am commanded to acquaint You, that His Majesty having the firmest Reliance on your Zeal & Abilities for His Service, is most graciously pleased to appoint you to succeed his Lordship, as Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in North America; and you will accordingly receive, herewith, the proper Commissions,

² A. and W. I., vol. 75. See note to preceding letter, and to that of March

10, 1757.

¹ Abercromby was given the command against Pitt's inclinations. It proved impossible to pass him over, and Pitt hoped much from his association with Lord Howe, his second in command. See note to letter of November 26, 1757.

and Instructions for this Purpose, which have been prepared in every respect the same as was done for Lord Loudoun, & the inclosed copy of a Circular Letter, which I have wrote to all the Governors, will shew you that they are ordered to correspond with, and obey you, in the same Manner, as they were directed to do, with regard to His Majesty's former Commanders in Chief.

I cannot conclude without congratulating you on this very high Mark of the King's Favour, and Confidence, & assuring you of my most sincere Wishes for Success in all your Undertakings, in the Execution of the most important Command with which His Majesty has been pleased to honor you. I am &c:-

W. Pitt.

PITT TO GOVERNORS IN NORTH AMERICA 2

WHITEHALL 30th Decr 1757.

Sir,

The King having judged proper, that the Earl of Loudoun should return to England; And His Majesty having been pleased to appoint Major General Abercromby 3 to succeed his Lordship, as Commander in Chief of the King's Forces in North America, with the same Powers and Authorities; I am commanded to signify to you His Majesty's Pleasure, that you do apply to, and correspond with, Major General Abercromby, on all Matters relating to the King's Service, and that you do obey such Orders as you shall receive from Him, in the same manner as you were directed to do, with regard to the several former Commanders in Chief in North America; and you will, from Time to Time, give Mr. Abercromby all the Assistance and Lights in your Power, in all Matters relative to the Command, with which the King has honored Him.

¹ See the following letter.

² A. and W. I., vol. 75. Printed in Col. Rec. of R.I., VI. 115; Corr. Col. Governors of R.I., II. 270; Col. Rec. of Penn., VIII. 26; N.C. Col. Rec., V. 791.

See note to letter of March 10, 1757.

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And I am particularly to signify to you His Majesty's Pleasure that in Case Major General Abercromby, or the Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces, shall at any time apply to you to lay an Embargo on all Ships within your Province, you do strictly comply with the said Request for so long a time as the Commander in Chief shall desire.

The King having resolved to send a Considerable Squadron of Ships of War, the ensuing Year, to North America, I am further to signify to you His Majesty's Pleasure, that you do, from time to time, transmit to the Commander in Chief of the King's ships in North America, all Intelligence, relative to his Department, in the same Manner as you were directed to do by my Letter of the 19th of last February, to Vice Admiral Holburne; & it is also the King's Pleasure, that you do, on any Application from the Commander in Chief of the King's Ships, use all legal Methods to supply him with such a Number of Sailors, & workmen, from your Province, as he shall at any time require for His Majesty's Service.

I am &c.

W. PITT.

PITT TO THE GOVERNORS OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY NEW HAMPSHIRE CONNECTICUT RHODE ISLAND NEW YORK NEW JERSEY²

WHITEHALL Dec. 30th 1757.

Sir,

His Majesty having nothing more at Heart, than to repair the Losses and Disappointments, of the last inactive, and unhappy Campaign; and by the most vigorous and extensive Efforts, to avert, by the Blessing of God on His Arms, the

Admiral Boscawen sailed for Halifax, February 19, 1758, with twenty-three ships of the line and eighteen frigates, with some twelve thousand troops on board.

² A. and W. I., vol. 75. Printed in Col. Rec. of R.I., VI. 113; Corr. Col. Governors of R.I., II. 265; N.H. Prov. Papers, VI. 656; N.Y. Col.

Doc., VII. 339.

Dangers impending in North America; And not doubting, that all His faithful and brave Subjects there, will chearfully co-operate with, and second to the utmost, the large Expence, and extraordinary Succours supplied by this Kingdom for their Preservation and Defence; And His Majesty considering, that the several Provinces, in particular, from Proximity and accessibility of Situation, more immediately obnoxious to the main Irruptions of the Enemy from Canada, are, of themselves, well able to furnish, at least, Twenty Thousand Men, to join a Body of The King's Forces for Invading Canada, by the Way of Crown Point, and carrying War into the Heart of the Enemy's Possessions; And His Majesty not judging it expedient to limit the zeal and Ardor of any of His Provinces, by making a Repartition of the Force to be raised by Each respectively, for this most important Service; I am commanded to signify The King's Pleasure, that you do forthwith use your utmost Endeavours, and Influence with the Council and Assembly of your Province, to induce Them to raise, with all possible Dispatch, as large a Body of Men within your Government, as the Number of Its Inhabitants may allow; and, forming the same into Regiments, as far as shall be found convenient, That you do direct them to hold Themselves in Readiness, as early as may be, to march to the Rendezvous at Albany, or such other Place, as His Majesty's Commander in Chief in America, shall appoint, in order to proceed, from thence, in Conjunction with a Body of The King's British Forces, and under the supreme Command of His Ma'ty's said Commander in Chief in America, so as to be in a Situation to begin the Operations of the Campaign, by the First of May, if possible, or as soon after, as shall be any way practicable, by attempting to make an Irruption into Canada, as above, by the Way of Crown Point, and, if found practicable, to attack either

¹ A point on the western shore of the southern end of Lake Champlain. where the lake suddenly narrows so that a few cannon would stop the passage, The French, in 1731, established a garrison there, and called the place Fort Frédéric. It was a halfway station between Albany and Montreal, and a basis for forays against the surrounding country.

Montreal or Quebec, or Both of the said Places successively, with the whole Force in one Body, or at one and the same Time, by a Division of the Troops, into separate and distinct Operations, according as His Majesty's said Commander in Chief shall, from His Knowledge of the Countries, thro' which the War is to be carried, and from emergent Circumstances, not to be known here, judge any of the said Attempts to be practicable. And the better to facilitate this important Service, The King is pleased to leave it to you to issue Commissions to such Gentlemen of your Province as you shall judge, from their Weight and Credit with the People, and their zeal for the publick Service, may be best disposed and enabled to quicken and effectuate the speedy Levying of the greatest Number of Men; In the Disposition of which Commissions, I am persuaded, you will have nothing in View but the Good of the King's Service, and a due Subordination of the Whole, when join'd, to His Majesty's Commander in Chief; And all Officers of the Provincial Forces, as high as Colonels inclusive, are to have Rank, according to their several respective Commissions, in like Manner, as is already given, by His Majesty's Regulations, to the Captains of Provincial Troops in America.

The King is further pleased to furnish all the Men, so raised as above, with Arms, Ammunition, and Tents, as well as to order Provisions to be issued to the same, by His Ma'ty's Commissaries, in the same Proportion and Manner as is done to the rest of the King's Forces: A sufficient Train of Artillery will also be provided, at His Majesty's Expence, for the Operations of the Campaign; And the Ship that conveys this, carries Orders for timely providing, at The King's Charge, with the utmost Diligence, and in an ample Manner, Boats & Vessels, necessary for the Transportation of the

Army on this Expedition.

The Whole, therefore, that His Majesty expects and requires from the several Provinces, is, the Levying, Cloathing,

¹ An account of the difficulties involved in carrying out the Order of 1754, namely, that the regular officers should outrank all provincials, may be found in Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, I. 399, 400.

and Pay of the Men; And, on these Heads also, that no Encouragement may be wanting to this great and salutary Attempt, The King is farther most Graciously pleased to permit me to acquaint You, that strong Recommendations will be made to Parliament in their Session next Year, to grant a proper Compensation for such Expences as above, according as the active Vigour and strenuous Efforts of the re-

spective Provinces shall justly appear to merit.1

Altho' several Thousand Stands of Arms will be forthwith sent from England, to be distributed to the Troops, now directed to be raised, in the Northern and Southern Provinces; Yet, as it is hoped, that the Numbers of Men, levyed in all Parts of America, may greatly exceed the Quantity of Arms that can at present, be supplied from England; It is His Majesty's Pleasure, that you do, with particular Diligence, immediately collect, and put into the best Condition, all the serviceable Arms that can be found within your Government, in order that the Same may be employed, as far as They will go, in this Exigency.

I am further to inform You, that similar Orders are sent, by this Conveyance to Rhode Island, New Hampshire,

Connecticut, New York and New Jersey.

The Southern Governments are also directed to raise Men in the same Manner, to be employed in such offensive Operations, as the Circumstances and Situation of the Enemy's Posts, in those Parts, may point out; which, it is hoped, will oblige them so to divide their Attention and Forces, as will render the several Attempts more easy and successful.

It is unnecessary to add any thing to animate your zeal, in the Execution of His Majesty's Orders on this great Occasion, where the Safety and Preservation of America and of your own Province in particular, (N.B. To be omitted to Connecticut & Rhode Isd) are at Stake; And the King doubts not, from your known Fidelity and Attachment, that you will employ Yourself, with the utmost Application and Dispatch, in this urgent and dangerous Crisis.

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¹£200,000 was voted in April, 1759. 32 George II. c. 36.

Altho' the Knowledge of an Intention to invade Canada is apprehended to be not only unattended with any Inconvenience, but necessary to be propagated in the Provinces, in order to give Success to the Levies; Yet, as Secresy, in all Enterprizes on particular Places, is of the greatest Importance, The King is persuaded, that you will use all proper Discretion in communicating, by Name, any of the immediate Objects before pointed out, further than to such Persons, to whom it may be necessary, for the Good of the Service, confidentially to entrust the same. I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

W. PITT.

PITT TO GOVERNORS OF PENNSYLVANIA MARYLAND VIRGINIA SOUTH CAROLINA NORTH CAROLINA 1

WHITEHALL, Dec. 30th 1757.

Sir,

His Majesty having nothing more at heart, than to repair the Losses, & Disappointments, of the last inactive & unhappy campaign, and by the most vigorous & extensive Efforts, to avert, by the blessing of God on His Arms, the Dangers impending on North America; and not doubting, that all His faithful and brave Subjects there will chearfully cooperate with, and second, to the utmost, the large Expence, & extraordinary Succours, supplied by this Kingdom for their Preservation and Defence; And His Majesty considering that the several Provinces, from Pennsylvania inclusive to the Southward, are well able with proper Encouragements to furnish a body of several Thousand Men, to join the King's Forces in those parts, for some offensive Operations against the Enemy; And His Majesty not judging it expedient to limit the Zeal and Ardor of any of His Provinces, by making a Repartition of the Forces, to be raised by Each respectively, for this most important Service; I am commanded to signify to You the King's Pleasure,

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 75. Printed in Col. Rec. of N.C., V. 789; Col. Rec. of Penn., VIII. 27.

that you do forthwith use your utmost Endeavours & Influence with the Council & Assembly of your Province to induce them to raise, with all possible Dispatch, as large a Body of Men, within Your Government, as the Number and Situation (words in Italic to be omitted to Pensylvania & N. Carolina.) of its Inhabitants may allow, and, forming the same into Regiments as far as shall be found convenient, that you do direct them to hold themselves in readiness, as early as may be, to march to the rendez-vous, at such Place or Places, as may be named for that purpose by Brigadier General Forbes 1 appointed to Command His Majesty's Forces in those parts, in order to proceed from thence, in conjunction with a Body of His Majesty's British Forces, & under the supreme Command of Brigadier Forbes appointed as above, so as to be in a situation to begin, by the first of May if possible, or as soon after as shall be any way practicable, such offensive Operations, as shall be judged by the said Commander of His Majesty's Forces in those parts, most expedient for annoying the Enemy, & most efficacious towards removing & repelling the Dangers, that threaten the Frontiers of any of the Southern Colonies on the Continent of America; and the better to facilitate this important Service, the King is pleased to leave it to You to issue Commissions to such Gentlemen of Your Province, as You shall judge, from their Weight & Credit with the People, & their Zeal for the Publick Service, may be best disposed and enabled to quicken & effectuate the speedy Levying of the greater Number of Men; In the Disposition of which Commissions, I am pursuaded You will have nothing in view but the good of the King's Service, & a due Subordination of the whole, when joined, to His Majesty's Commander, And all Officers of the Provincial Forces, as high as Colonels inclusive, are to have Rank according to their several respective Commissions, in like manner, as is already given by His Majesty's Regulations, to the Captains of Provincial Troops in America.2

The King is further pleased to furnish all the Men, so raised as above, with Arms, Ammunition, & Tents, as well

¹ See note to letter of May 1, 1758. ² See note to preceding letter.

as to order Provisions to be issued to the same, by His Majesty's Commissaries, in the same Proportion & Manner, as is done to the Rest of the King's Forces:—And a sufficient Train of Artillery will also be provided, at His Majesty's Expence, for the Operations of the Campaign: The whole, therefore, that His Majesty expects & requires from the several Provinces, is, the Levying, Cloathing, & Pay of the Men; And, on these Heads also, that no Encouragement may be wanting to the fullest Exertion of your Force, the King is farther most graciously pleased to permit me to acquaint You, that strong Recommendations will be made to Parliament, in their Session next Year, to grant a proper Compensation for such Expences as above, according as the active Vigour & strenuous Efforts of the respective Provinces shall justly appear to merit.¹

Altho's several Thousand stands of Arms will be forthwith sent from England to be distributed to the Troops, now directed to be raised in the Northern & Southern Provinces; Yet, as it is hoped, that the Numbers of Men levyed in all parts of America, may greatly exceed the quantity of Arms, that can at present be supplied from England, It is His Majesty's Pleasure, that You do, with particular Diligence, immediately collect, & put into the best Condition, all the Serviceable Arms, that can be found within your Governm! in order that the same may be employed, as far as they will

go, in this Exigency.

I am further to inform You that similar Orders are sent, by this Conveyance to Maryland, Virginia, Nº Carolina & Sº Carolina The Northern Governments are also directed to raise Men in the same manner, to be employed in such offensive Operations, as the Circumstances & Situation of the Enemy's Possessions in those parts may point out, which it is hoped, will oblige them so to divide their Attention and Forces, as will render the several Attempts more easy & successful.

¹ The Parliament of 1757 had already made a grant of £50,000 to North and South Carolina and Virginia, and one of £3,557. 10s. "for defraying the civil establishment of Georgia." 30 George II. c. 26.

It is unnecessary to add any thing to animate your Zeal, in the Execution of His Majesty's Orders on this great Occasion, where the safety and preservation of America & of your own Province in particular, are at Stake; and the King doubts not, from your known Fidelity & Attachment, that You will employ yourself, with the utmost Application & Dispatch, in this urgent and Dangerous Crisis. I am &c.

W. PITT.

PITT TO GENERAL ABERCROMBY 1

WHITEHALL Dec. 30th 1757.

Sir. His Majesty having nothing more at heart, than to repair the Losses & Disappointments of the last inactive and unhappy Campaign, and, by the most vigorous and extensive Efforts, to avert, by the Blessing of God on His Arms, the Dangers impending on N. America; I am to begin with acquainting you, in the greatest Confidence, that the King has come to a Resolution to allot an adequate proportion of His Forces in North America, amounting (as you will see by the inclosed Paper containing the Destination of the Troops with Two Battalions, to be sent from England,) to upwards of Fourteen Thousand Men for the Siege of Louisburg, to be begun as early in the year as the Twentieth of April, if the Season shall happen to permit, under the Direction of an Officer, to be appointed by His Majesty's particular Commission for the Command of that Operation. And you will take the most particular Care, that no Part of the Requisites for that Siege, which were prepared last year, be dissipated; but that the same be kept in the best Condition, and forth-coming on the shortest Notice; And you will also be very attentive, that the Battering Train, and Stores, be constantly kept in most perfect Repair and Order, and fit for immediate Service, and I hope soon to be able to apprize you of the various additions to such Train, and Stores, which are now

preparing to be shortly sent from England.

I am next to signify to you His Majesty's Pleasure, that you do immediately concert the properest Measures for pushing the Operations of the Campaign, with the utmost vigor, early in the Year, by an Invasion of Canada; by the way of Crown Point, with such of the remaining part as you shall judge proper, of the King's Troops, (not allotted, as above, for the Siege of Louisburg, — and for the other Services pointed out,) in conjunction with such a numerous Body of the Forces of the Northern Provinces, as you will perceive, by the inclosed Copy of my Letter to the Governors thereof, it is hoped, will, in Consequence of those Strong & pressing Orders to that Effect, be ready to join in this important Service; and to this great End, His Majesty, relying on your Fidelity, and Zeal for the Honor of His Arms, and Preservation of America, has commanded me to signify to you, that it is His Majesty's Pleasure, that, in case It shall be found practicable, you do attempt an Invasion of Canada, by the way of Crown Point, in order to proceed, if practicable, to an Attempt on either Montreal or Quebec, or both of the said Places, successively, with the whole Force in one Body, or at one and the same Time, by a Division of the Troops into separate and distinct operations, according as you shall from your Knowledge of the Countries, thro' which the War is to be carried, and from emergent Circumstances, not to be known here, judge any of the said Attempts to be practicable, And as you will perceive that Brigadier Gen! Stanwix 2 is not mentioned in any of the three Distributions of the Forces; I am to inform you, that it is the King's Intention, that the said Brigadier should be left at Fort Edward,3 Albany, or New York, as you shall judge proper, in order to have the care of the Frontiers, during your absence, and of all things necessary for the proper Communications with and Supply of the Army under your Command. And it is the King's Pleasure that you do, to the Utmost of your Power and Influence, assist and encourage the several Governors

¹ See note to letter to Governors of Northern Colonies, of this date.

² See note to letter of June 17, 1757. ³ See note to letter of April 25, 1757.

of the Northern Provinces, in the full and most expeditious Execution of the necessary & important Orders now sent them. And in order that nothing may be wanting to enable the Troops to be employed in attempting the said Irruption into Canada, to take the Field early, and push their Operations with the greatest Vigor, the King has been pleased to direct the Governor or Lieut! Gov! of New York to provide such a Number of Boats, and such Vessells, as you and the said Governor or L! Gov! shall judge sufficient for the use of the Troops. &c: - on the above most essential Service, as the inclosed Copy of my Letter to Him, on this Occasion, will particularly explain to you; And that this Work may be carried on with all possible Dispatch, His Majesty has been further pleased to appoint Captain Loring,1 who will deliver this dispatch to you, and whose Zeal and Abilities for this Service have been strongly recommended to the King to superintend and inspect the Building and providing a sufficient Number of such Boats, and Vessels, agreeably to the Directions he shall receive from you, or from the Governor or Lt Gov! of New York, for this purpose; You will, therefore, in concert with the said Governor or L! Govi, forthwith consider the Number of Boats, as well as such Vessel or Vessels, as may be requisite on this Occasion, and give the necessary Orders for preparing the Same without Loss of Time, so that they may be ready at Lake George, or such other Waters, to which you shall direct the same to be conveyed, (in consequence of such Plan of Operations, as you shall finally determine to put in Execution agreeable to the above Instructions,) as nearly as may be, by the Time limited in my Letter above mentioned to the Governor of New York; and you will give all proper and necessary Assistance, & Encouragement to M. Loring for the effectual Execution of this Most essential Service. — I must not conclude this Article without strongly recommending to you the taking, in due time, a proper Post on such Part of Lake

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¹ Better known as Commodore Joshua Loring. See note to letter of January 9, 1758.

George, as you may judge necessary for protecting the Boats,

and Preparations for an Embarkation.

I am further to signify to you His Majesty's Pleasure that you do appoint Colonel Forbes,1 (who will, by this Conveyance receive a Commission of Brigadier General in America,) to command such Forces, as you shall judge proper to leave in the Southern Provinces; and that Brigadier Forbes do proceed, without Loss of Time, to Pensylvania, or such other of the Southern Provinces, as shall be thought most proper, in order the better to concert any Operations, to be undertaken by the said Troops, who, in Conjunction with the Forces, directed by my Letter (of which the inclosed is a Copy) to the Southern Governors, to be raised in those Provinces, are to be employed under the Command of the Said Brigadier Forbes, on any such offensive Operations, as may be judged by Him most expedient for annoying the Enemy, and most efficacious towards removing and repelling the Dangers that threaten the Frontiers of any of the Southern Colonies on the Continent of America. And it is His Majesty's Pleasure, that Lieut. Col! Bradstreet,2 to whom the King has given that rank, should be employed as Deputy Quarter Master General, under Brigadier Forbes, in the Southern Colonies.

¹ See note to letter of December 30, 1757, and of May 1, 1758. Forbes accompanied Loudoun's Halifax expedition as colonel of the 17th regiment of foot. He was appointed brigadier-general in America in December, 1757, and put in command of the Southern District. He occupied Fort DuQuesne in November, 1758, and died at Philadelphia in the following

March. He was buried in Christ Church in that city.

² Bradstreet served as lieutenant-colonel of a Maine regiment, in the Louisburg expedition of 1745, was given a captain's commission in a royal regiment, and, in 1746, was appointed lieutenant-governor of St. John's, Newfoundland. He was in garrison at Louisburg with his regiment until 1748, when it was disbanded. He took a creditable part in the military operations of 1755 and 1756, and was made lieutenant-colonel in the regular army in December, 1757, when he was also deputy quartermaster-general. He served under Abercromby in the unsuccessful expedition of 1758 against Ticonderoga, and immediately afterward led a force to the capture of Fort Frontenac. He also took an active part in the campaign of 1759. He was made colonel in 1762, led an expedition against the Indians in 1764, became major-general in 1772, and died at New York in 1774. N.Y. Col. Doc., VIII. 379.

You will observe, by the Copies of my Letters to the Governors, that His Majesty has been pleased to promise, that His Commissaries shall issue Provisions to the Men, raised by the Several Provinces, in the same Proportion and Manner, as is done to the Rest of the King's Forces; I am, therefore, to signify to you His Majesty's Pleasure, that you do give the Necessary Directions to all the Commissaries, and other Officers, who may have the charge of the Provisions, to furnish the said Men with the same, in the Proportion and Manner above mentioned; For which Purpose, the Contractors have received Directions to have constantly in Store a Sufficient Quantity of Provisions, as well for the Regular National Troops as for the Provincials, which shall be raised in Consequence of His Majesty's Orders; And It is the King's Pleasure, that You should keep a particular Account of the Same, and that no Provisions should be delivered to the Provincial Troops, but in Consequence of an Order from You, or from the Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Forces in those Parts, where the said Provisions may be wanted. And you will, in Case of Necessity, draw Bills for any Extraordinary Expences, incurred for this Service. And with regard to the Arms and Tents, mentioned in my Letters to the Several Governors, I am to acquaint you, that the King has been pleased to order Ten Thousand Arms, and Four Thousand Tents, to be sent to New York, for the Service of the Provincials raised in the Northern Governments; And Two Thousand Arms, and One Thousand Tents, to Philadelphia, for the Service of Those raised in the Southern Governments; And It is His Majesty's Pleasure, that you do, in Concert with the several Governors, give the most pressing Orders, that all the Serviceable Arms to be Collected in the respective Provinces, be forthwith put into the best Condition, in Order that the same may be employed, as far as they will go, in the present Exigency.

His Majesty is further pleased to empower you, and has commanded me strongly to recommend to you, to raise as Considerable a Number of Rangers, as may be practicable,

for the various Operations of the Campaign; and in particular, that you do not fail to cause a Body of the said Rangers, amounting to not less than Six Hundred, to be sent with the Forces to Halifax, for the Expedition to Cape Breton. I am further to signify to you His Majesty's Pleasure, that you do direct Lieut Colonel Williamson, and Lieut Col! Montresor, to obey all such Orders, as they shall receive, from the Lieu! General and Board of Ordnance, with regard to the Detaching Part of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, and Engineers, to Halifax, and for their immediate repairing to that Place, in order to make, with all possible Expedition and Diligence, the necessary Preparations for the Intended Siege of Louisburg; And with regard to the whole entire Battering Train, and all Stores, of every Kind, thereunto belonging, which were prepared and destined for the Siege of the said Place last Campaign, and which, It is understood, are, at present, at New York; It is the King's Pleasure, that you do take particular Care, to send, in due Time, the said entire Battering Train, together with the Stores above-mentioned, to Halifax, in order that the Same may be in readiness to be employed for the Siege of Louisbourg, intended to be undertaken as early as is pointed out in the foregoing part of this Letter.

You will see, by the Paper above inclosed, containing the Distribution of the Forces in North America, the Allotment of such Part of the Same, as are destined for the Siege of Louisburg.² And I am to signify to You His Majesty's Pleasure, that you do cause the several Regiments, so appointed by the said List, for the Siege of Louisburg, to be employed accordingly in that Siege, without making any Change therein, unless some Alteration should be found absolutely necessary, from extraordinary Inconvenience, that might otherwise arise to the Service from the unforeseen Circum-

¹ Five hundred rangers were sent to Halifax. Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe, II. 56.

² Entick states that eight thousand men were sent to the Ohio country, sixteen thousand were detailed for the Crown Point expedition, and some twelve thousand, as well as the fleet, were sent to Louisburg. III. 53, 222. See also, note to letter of December 30, to Governors in North America.

stances, or Situation, of any particular Regiment; and in Case it should be found absolutely necessary to change any Regiment, or Regiments, in the Allotment, herewith transmitted, of the Forces, destined for the above Siege, You are to take especial Care, that, notwithstanding any such Change of particular Corps, the Total of Regular Forces prescribed and fixed for the Siege of Louisburg, do amount to the full number, allotted, in the inclosed Paper, for the said Service:

It is, also, the King's Pleasure, that you do take Care that the Troops above mentioned be rendezvoused at Halifax, as nearly as may be, by the Twelfth Day of April; and you will not fail to order, forthwith, all proper Provision to be immediately made for their Reception, at that Place; and that all the Preparations there, and elsewhere, for the Siege of Louisburg, be so quickened and pressed, that no Disappointment may happen in proceeding from Halifax, in case the Season permits, to Cape Breton, by the Twentieth of April, as directed in the former part of this Letter.1 A considerable Number of Transport Vessels are actually preparing here, and will shortly proceed to New York, in order to be in readiness to convey the Troops above mentioned to Halifax, and you will detain the Transports that are now in their Passage to America with the additional Highland Companies, to be also employed, as you shall judge necessary, for the Use of the Troops: - And to prevent as far as possible, any Delays or Disappointments happening, in this essential Service, from a Deficiency in the Transports, to be sent from England, either on Account of their late Arrival in America, or from any of the same being rendered, thro' Accidents during their Voyage, unfit, when they arrive, for immediate Service, It is the King's Pleasure, that you do forthwith, take up in America, Six Thousand Tons of Transport Vessels, at such Place, or Places, as you shall judge proper, and that you do order the said Vessels to be fitted and prepared in every respect, and ready, wherever you shall direct, for the Embarkation of the Troops,

¹ Boscawen reached Halifax with the fleet on May 9, and anchored off Louisburg harbor on June 2. Entick, III. 222, 223.

the Train, the Stores, and all other Requisites for this Service. And that you may not fail being able to procure the said Quantity of Transports, or any further Quantity, that they hereafter happen to be wanted; You will, whenever necessary, apply to the several Governors to lay a strict Embargo on all ships during such time as you shall judge proper for this purpose; and the said Governors are directed by the King to comply with any such Application from you, And as it may probably happen, notwithstanding your great Care to the Contrary, that all the Transports necessary for conveying the Troops, Train, and Stores, may not be altogether ready so nearly at the same time, as is to be wished; I am to signify to you, that It is the King's Pleasure, that you do send the Forces to Halifax, (so that they may be there by the Time above directed) in such Divisions as you shall judge proper, without making the whole of this important Service wait, on account of some Part only of the Troops, destined for the same, not being quite ready; And in that Case, such remaining Part thereof is to be sent, with all Expedition, as soon after as possible, so as to join the Main Body, assembled at Halifax, for the Siege of Louisburg, as before directed.

I must not omit further to inform you, that the necessary Preparations are making, for sending the Two Regiments, mentioned in the above List, from England; and that the

same will proceed in a short time to Halifax.

The King having been informed, that Meserve, a Gentleman of New Hampshire, And who has, for the Two last Years, commanded the Troops of that Province, was engaged by the Earl of Loudoun to go with Him to Halifax, on the late intended Expedition to Louisburg, to command and direct a Company of Sixty Carpenters; I am to signify to you His Majesty's Pleasure, that you do forthwith take the proper steps to engage M! Meserve to collect the Number of Eighty Carpenters, and to proceed with them, with-

¹ A ship-builder of great ability and energy. Loudoun speaks of him in terms of high praise. He rendered excellent service in the Louisburg expedition, where he died of smallpox during the siege.

out Loss of Time to Halifax, in order that the said Carpenters may be employed, under the Command of Mr. Meserve, on such works, as shall be necessary, for the Operations of the Troops, in the Siege of Louisbourg, or in such other Manner as the Commander-in Chief of the King's Forces on that Expedition shall judge proper:—And, in case you shall think it expedient, you will endeavour to prevail on Mr. Meserve to decline accepting the Command of the New Hampshire Troops, the ensuing Campaign, in order that His whole Time and Attention may be employed on the above most essential Service.

I am &c: W. D. T.

P. S. I am further to signify to you the Kings Pleasure that you do procure such a Number of Battoe Men, as you shall judge necessary, for the Service of the Boats attending the Troops; and Men sufficient for Navigating the Vessels.

PITT TO GOVERNOR LAWRENCE 1

WHITEHALL. Dec: 30th: 1757.

Sir,

His Majesty having directed Two Regiments to be forthwith sent from hence to Halifax, I am commanded to acquaint you therewith, and to signify to You, the King's Pleasure, that you do prepare all things proper for the Reception of the said Two Battalions, in your Province.

I am &c:

W. PITT.

PITT TO LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR DE LANCEY²

WHITEHALL, Decr. 30th: 1757.

Sir,

I write this Separate Letter on a Subject of the highest Importance to The King's Service, and which I cannot too

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 75.

² A. and W. I., vol. 75. James De Lancey served on the council of New York, and also as chief-justice of the province. He was appointed lieutenant-governor in 1753, and was left at the head of the government upon Sir Charles Hardy's departure for Halifax.

strongly recommend to your utmost Attention and Vigilance.

His Majesty has commanded me to signify His Pleasure, that you do forthwith provide, and cause to be built, with all possible Dispatch, and at the King's Charge, such a Number of Boats, as shall be judged by His Majesty's Commander in Chief in America, sufficient for carrying, & attending towards Canada, by the way of Lake George, or Woods Creek,1 or both of them, a Number of Troops, amounting to not less than Twenty Thousand Men² & for the more speedy preparing, and having in readiness, early enough in the Spring to begin the Operations in due Season, the very great Number of Boats, that this Service will necessarily require, You are, by exerting most particular Diligence, & giving all proper Encouragements, to set to work as great a Number of Hands, As You shall be able to find within your Province, or to procure from other Parts; All which Hands are to be employed at One and the same Time, in building such Boats, in as many several Places as is, in any Way, practicable, and as may lye at all within reach of the said Boats being conveyed, by Land or Water, to Lake George, or Woods Creek, as Both or Either of the same shall be judged expedient by the Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces; And you are, by all possible Means, to quicken & expedite the above Preparations, so essentially and indispensably Necessary for all Operations on the side of Crown Point, in such Manner as that the very great Number of Boats, sufficient for the above Purposes, be ready at Either, or Both of the Waters above directed, & entirely compleat, for the Use & Service of the Troops, by the First Day of May, if possible, or as soon after, as shall be any way practicable.

And as one, or more Armed Vessels, of a Size and Force adapted to the Navigation of the Lakes, may be necessary to convoy, & protect the Boats, and Troops, in their Pas-

¹ Flowing from the "Drowned Lands" near Lake George into Lake Champlain.

² See letter to Governors of Northern Colonies of this date.

sage; It is the King's further Pleasure, that you do take proper Care to direct the Building of such Vessel or Vessels on Lake George, as the same shall be judged proper by the Commander in Chief & Yourself:

And if It shall be absolutely impracticable, in the present Situation of the Country, to begin this Work immediately on the said Lake, You are, in that Case, for the Sake of Expedition, so indispensably necessary in the present Exigency, to cause forthwith the requisite Timbers, and Materials, to be prepared and fitted, as far as the Nature of such Work will permit, in whatever Place, or Places, may be most convenient for that Purpose, with the most extraordinary Diligence, in order that the same may be conveyed, as soon as possible, according as The Commander in Chief shall direct, to Lake George, and there be put together, and framed, so that the said Vessel, or Vessels, may not fail to be entirely compleated, and fit for Service, by the first of May above-mentioned, if possible, or as soon after, as may be any way practicable.

In order that the Works, mentioned in this Letter, may be carried on with all possible Dispatch, The King has been pleased to appoint Captain Loring, who will deliver this Dispatch to you, and whose Zeal, and Abilities for this Service, have been strongly recommended to His Majesty, to superintend and inspect the Building, and providing the said Boats and Vessels, agreably to such Directions, as He shall receive from you, or the Commander in Chief of the King's Forces in North America and you will accordingly in Concert with the said Commander in Chief, give all proper and necessary Directions, Assistance, and Encouragements, to M. Loring, for the effectual Execution of this most essen-

tial Service. I am &c:

W. PITT.

¹ See note to letter of January 9, 1758.

GOVERNOR DOBBS TO PITT 1

New Bern, 30th Decr, 1757.

Sir,

It gave me great Pleasure to hear you are restored to the Execution of your Trust as Secretary for the Southern Departm' by the united Voice of the people of England, as I know you have the Interest of Commerce and the Safety of our American Colonies so much in your power and at heart.²

I have nothing to acknowledge since you were out of Office but a Letter from Lord Holderness of the 2^d of May about taking off the Embargo for exporting Corn to Europe, and a Letter of the 20th of May relative to the Masters of 2 privateers, the Peggy of New York, Hadden Master, and a Privateer from Halifax one Snooke Master, which shall be obeyed if they come into this Province, but no such persons have arrived here since.³

The Assembly of this Province cou'd only be prevailed upon keeping on foot three companies of 50 Men each 150 instead of 300 they raised and paid last year, because the 2 Companies intended for South Carolina were stop'd and not wanted, when the Highland Regiment arrived there, as they

had no Quarters to give them.

We are still free from any Incursions of the Indians in this province, having kept 2 Companies on the Western Frontier, but must now remove one of them to secure our Forts and Batteries on the Sea Coast. We can get no Ship stationed on this Province at Cape Fear, that which has been ordered has not been here 10 days these 3 years, which is a Discouragement to our Trade.

I am with great Regard, &c., ARTHUR DOBBS.

² See note to letter of December 22, 1756.

A. and W. I., vol. 71. Printed in Col. Rec. of N.C., V. 792.

⁸ Both letters are printed in Col. Rec. of N.C., V. 756. ⁴ See Dobbs's message to the assembly, Ibid., V. 924.

LORD COLVILLE TO PITT 1

NORTHUMBERLAND AT HALIFAX. I January 1758.

Sir.

As I am directed in the King's Instructions, left me by Vice Admiral Holburne, to transmit constant and Particular Accounts of my proceedings, and of the Intelligence I shall be able to procure of the Motions and Designs of our Enemies, to you; I think it my Duty to acquaint you that I shall be constantly attentive to this Instruction, and that I have received Letters from the Governours of Maryland, Massachusetts Bay, and new Hampshire giving me to understand that I can have no Supply of Men from their Governments to recruit the Squadron under my Command.

I will not trouble you with a detail of the Squadron, or any Occurrences relating thereto, as I presume the Cognizance of what has hitherto happened belongs peculiarly to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and the Boards

Subordinate to them, I have the Honour to be Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant Colville.

GOVERNOR POWNALL TO PITT²

Boston. Jan^{ry} 2. 1758.

Sir,

As the making Reprisals upon the French trade before the Declaration of War is a Point that the French labour

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 79. Lord Alexander Colville was sent to America in 1755. He was with Holburne's fleet in 1757, and was present at the capture of Louisburg in 1758. He was left on the Halifax station during the winter, and served under Saunders in the Quebec campaign of 1759. After a second winter at Halifax he sailed for the St. Lawrence in April, and his arrival in that river caused the French to raise the siege of Quebec. He served in America during 1761 and 1762, and took part in the recapture of St. John's, Newfoundland. Subsequently, he was made admiral and commander-inchief on the North American station. He died in 1770. Prowse, History of Newfoundland, 308.

to explain into a Breach of the Law of Nations.¹ I humbly submit it whether it was not the French who first made the Precedent upon which this measure of the British Government was only a Reprisal by encouraging and fitting out the Indians to seize and make Slaves of the British Subjects in America in time of Peace, and afterwards buying them as such of the Indians, treating them as such, and suffering such to regain their Liberties upon no other Terms than what a Negro Slave might do, namely buying out his Freedom, and if this be the Case, whether the French can on any Pretence reclaim their Shipping till every British Subject so captivated and enslaved be return'd; and the Monies that those who are return'd have paid for their Freedom be accounted for: - I have, Sir, presum'd to suggest this Matter as I do now transmitt an Affidavit of one of these Cases attended with great Aggravations namely their Keeping a Commission'd Officer and his Family a Prisoner of War, after he has bought out his Freedom. In the sum that they make these poor Sufferers Pay they make no allowance for their Labour. I send this particular Case, Sir, not as a Single Instance, but only as a Sample, if my way of Reasoning upon it has the happiness to be approv'd by you, I can collect many within my Department, and numbers in every Government might be collected. There is one Circumstance which is known to be a Fact, but is not capable of Proof as an overt Act, that the French have agreed with the Indians to captivate for them a British Slave, of a particular Trade as was the Case of a Miller.

I have the honor to be, Sir, with most profound Respect Your most obedient most faithfull and most humble Servant

T. Pownall.

¹ During the year preceding the formal declaration of war by England (May 18, 1756), her sailors had brought into English ports some three hundred French prizes. Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, I. 352.

PITT TO GOVERNOR LAWRENCE 1

WHITEHALL. 7 Jan. 1758.

Secret

Sir,

His Majesty having ordered Engineers to repair forthwith to Halifax, who, it is hoped, will be at that Place before this Letter reaches You, I am to signify to You the King's Pleasure, that you do direct as many Soldiers of the Regiments in Nova Scotia, as shall be judged necessary, to assist the said Engineers, in accelerating and expediting such early Preparations, as they are ordered to make for the Siege of Louisburg, which the King has permitted me to acquaint you, in great Confidence, His Majesty has resolved should be undertaken as early in the Spring as possible, and Major General Abercromby being directed to send a large Body of Troops, from different parts of America, to Halifax, to be employed on that Service,2 under the Command of an Officer to be appointed by the King, you will forthwith be preparing for the Reception of the said Troops, concerning whom you will receive more particular Orders from Major General Abercromby. I am etc.

W. PITT.

PITT TO GENERAL ABERCROMBY 3

WHITEHALL. Jan ry 9th 1758.

Sir

This letter will be delivered to you by Commodore Durell,4 who has been directed to proceed to New York with the

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 76.

² See letter to Abercromby, of December 30, 1757.

³ A. and W. I., vol. 76.

⁴ Philip Durell was commissioned as captain in 1742, and served in the West Indies and the Mediterranean. He was made commodore in 1758, and on the reduction of Louisburg was promoted to be rear-admiral of the blue, in command on North American station. He accompanied the expedition of 1759 against Quebec. In 1762 he was made vice-admiral of the blue. In 1766 he was sent to relieve Lord Colville at Halifax, and died soon after his arrival at that post.

Transport Vessels, which I acquainted you, in my Letter of the 30th past 1 (of which you will receive a Duplicate herewith) were preparing here to be sent to America, in order to convey the Troops, Battering Train, and Stores, which you have been directed to send to Halifax, to be employed in the Siege of Louisburg; It is therefore His Majesty's Pleasure, that, on the Arrival of Commodore Durell, you do use the utmost Diligence in Concert with that Gentleman, in causing any necessary Repairs to be made to the said Transport Vessels, and in fitting them for the Reception of the Troops, Artillery, and Stores, at such Place, or Places, as you and the said Commodore shall judge most proper and convenient for the Embarkation of the same, and that They do proceed with all Expedition to Halifax, and It is the King's Pleasure, that you cause the said Troops, according as any Parts of them, and the Transports which are to carry them, shall be ready, to sail in such competent proper Divisions, as shall be judged most expedient for avoiding all Delays, and Conducive to the Expediting this most essential Service, and as the Success of the important Enterprize against Louisburg depends, in so great Measure, on the Troops assembling at Halifax in due Time, I cannot too strongly inforce to you the Necessity of exerting your utmost Care and Application, that the Troops, Artillery, and Stores, be all rendezvoused at Halifax, as nearly as possible, by the Time prescribed in my Letter of the 30th

I now inclose to you Lists of such Artillery and Ordnance Stores, as are preparing here, as well for Halifax,² as for New York and Pensylvania, and I have the Satisfaction to inform you, that the same are in such Forwardness, that, it is hoped, they will, in a very few Days, be ready to sail for their respective Destinations.

I have already acquainted you, that the King had ap-

See letter of December 30, 1757.
 The list of the Royal Artillery train is given in Kingsford, History of Canada, IV. 123.

pointed Captain Loring 1 to superintend and inspect the Building and providing the Boats and Vessels ordered to be prepared for the Use of the Troops, acting under your own immediate Command; And, as it is supposed, some Contingent & extraordinary Expences must necessarily attend the discharge of such a Duty, I am to signify to you His Majesty's Pleasure, that you do from time to time, supply Captain Loring with such Sums of Money, as he shall apply to you for, on that Account, and as shall appear to you to be reasonable.

I am &ca

W. PITT.

P. S. You will receive, by this Conveyance, from the Secretary at War, several Commissions, the King has been pleased to sign, giving the Rank of Colonel, in America only, to the Lieutenant Colonels serving there; And His Majesty having also been pleased to give the same Rank to Lieutenant Colonel Williamson of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, I send you herewith the Commission the King has signed for that purpose, which you will be pleased to deliver to Colonel Williamson.

PITT TO GENERAL ABERCROMBY 2

WHITEHALL, Janry 11th 1758.

I acquainted you, in my Letter of the 30th past,3 that you should, when necessary, apply to the Governors in North America, to lay an Embargo, within their Provinces; And you will have seen by my Letter of the same Date to the Several Governors, (Copy of which I then inclosed to you,)

Later, Commodore Joshua Loring. He was born in Boston in 1716, became a captain in the Royal Navy in 1757, and in 1759 commanded the naval operations on Lake George and Lake Champlain. He went with Amherst to Montreal in 1760. At the outbreak of the Revolution his estates were confiscated, and he went to England, where he died in 1781.

² A. and W. I., vol. 76.

³ See letter of December 30, 1757.

that they had the King's Orders, strictly to comply with any Application from you for this Purpose; I am now particularly to recommend it to you, and you are hereby directed to order an Embargo to be laid, as soon as necessary, on all Ships in the different Ports of the respective Provinces in North America, to continue untill such Time, as all the Transport Vessels, with the Troops, the Train, the Stores, and all the other Requisites for the Siege of Louisburg; shall be actually sailed for Halifax; But I am persuaded, you will, of yourself, see the Necessity of not mentioning the above Circumstance in your Orders to the Governors to lay such an Embargo.

I am &c:— W. Pitt.

P. S. As by my Letter of the 30th past, you are only directed to take up forthwith Six Thousand Tons of Transport Vessels; I am now to acquaint you, that, in Case, as the Preparations may be advanced, You shall find a larger Quantity wanting, either from the late Arrival of those ordered from England, the Condition they may come in, or any other Reason, It is the King's Pleasure, that you do in such Case, with out Loss of Time, take up, in America, such an additional Quantity of Transport Vessels, over and above the Six Thousand Tons directed by my former Letter, as You shall find necessary for the Troops, the Train, the Stores, and the other Requisites, to be sent from New York.

PITT TO THE GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF CONNECTICUT ²

WHITEHALL. Janry 14th 1758.

Gentlemen,

Mons! d'Abreu, Envoy Extraordinary from His Catholick Majesty, having lately renewed His Representation, with regard to the Recovery of what still remained due to the

¹ The embargo was ordered on March 15. See *Col. Rec. of Penn.*, VIII. 37.

² A. and W. I., vol. 76.

Spanish Subjects, on Account of the Ship St Joseph and St Helena, drove, by stress of Weather, to New London, in your Colony, in the Year 1753., Part of which Effects were brought to Europe in the Year 1755, by Cap! Whitwell, of His Majesty's Ship the Triton; in Consequence of the King's Orders, signified to you by Sir Thos Robinson in his Letter of the 13th June 1754. who also acquainted you by another Letter of the 3th Nov. 1755,1 that It was His Majesty's Express Commands, that you should exert Yourselves, in putting an End to this Affair, in a manner that shall be agreeable to the just Expectation of the Court of Spain; It is not without some Surprize, that the King has received a fresh Application from the Court of Spain, on this Affair; And as It does not appear, that you have ever transmitted any Account of what Steps you had taken, in obedience to His Majesty's Commands, signifyed to you by the last Letter above mentioned from Sir Thos Robinson, of which I inclose a Copy; I am now to signify to you the King's Pleasure, that you do employ your utmost Endeavours for the Recovery of whatever shall be still due to the Owners of the said Spanish Ship St Joseph & St Helena; or full satisfaction for such Part thereof, as shall not be forthcoming; And you will not fail to send a regular Account of what you shall do herein, that I may be able to acquaint the Spanish Minister therewith for the Information of His Court.

I am &c:

W. PITT.

GOVERNOR POWNALL TO PITT 2

Boston, Jan. 15. 1758.

Sir,

M

I beg leave to lay before You a Memorial of the State of the Service in North America as it stood in the beginning of the Year 1755, by which it appears that the French had not

¹ This letter is printed in Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., I. 273. See also pp. 260, 297, for letters of Governor Fitch, of dates June 5, 1755, and May 29, 1756.

² A. and W. I., vol. 71.

yet then acquir'd the Command of the Continent and that there were Measures which if uniformly and sincerely pursued might have intitled the English to Dispute that Command with them. By reasoning upon the Principles on which this State of the Service is built, It will be seen that the loss of the Waters and Country of Ohio,¹ The Loss of Oswego and the Naval Power of the Lakes,² have intirely excluded the English from Command in the Continent and all Power over the Indians and have confirmed the Dominion of America to the French.

From observing how extreamly difficult, almost impracticable, it was then in 1755 to carry on from the English Settlements any Military Expeditions against the French either in the Indian Country or their own thro' Defect of the Measure of Establishing a System of Fortifyed Camps and Entre pôts by possessing ourselves of the Passes and Holds in the Country, By observing how difficult and impracticable it was to carry on Expeditions in the Enemys' Country without such previous measures, and that our Miscarriages and Losses were in a great degree owing to a Defect or Neglect of such Measures. And seeing that we are by these Miscarriages and Losses now totally deprived of them, it will be fairly deduced that unless the Warr and our Circumstances will permitt us now to begin afresh where we should have sett out Ten Years (if not half a Century) ago, and might when the French had not then outstripped us even as late as 1748. It will be seen that the French having Compleated such a System of which we are totally devoid and having now fixed their Command of the Dominion of the Continent and of every Nation and Individual Indian on the Continent, It will be seen that to carry on Partial Expeditions must be a ruinous insupportable Measure which will finally loose this Country. And that there is not (which Prudence and Reason points out) any other Step left but a General Invasion of Canada at the very root.

And I may here add that there is a Spirit in the People of

New England on which to build such a Scheme. And that not such as now go into the Service for pay or are impress'd in it, but that the best Yeomen Freeholders and Gentry of the Country wou'd turn out on such a Scheme cou'd they endure the Expence or have the least hope of a Reimbursement and were any Method devis'd or thought proper to be admitted, whereby They might be assured of not being under Martial Law according to the Articles of Warr. but under their own Officers and the Law Martial of their own Country. . . . I have the honor to be with most profound Respect Sir your most obedient

Faithfull and most humble Servant

T. Pownall.

GOVERNOR POWNALL TO PITT 1

Boston. January 15. 1758.

Sir,

It being my Duty to report to you from time to time the Measures of my Administration, I humbly beg leave to lay before you the Several Matters I have Recommended this last Sessions to the Legislature of the Province I have the Honor to Command and what has been done thereon. . . . I had occasion at my very first entrance to know and to find the Militia totally ruin'd ineffectual and Useless. And I have since upon inquiry found that the Defense of the Inland Frontiers was not more to be depended on in case of any Incursions of the Indians. I have propos'd a Militia Law that may be Effectual and tho' this be a point that cou'd never yet since the Existence of the present Charter be carried. . . . I have the happiness to acquaint you Sir, that I have, after one or two unsuccessfull Attempts had the Fortune this last Sessions to succeed in obtaining an Act providing for the duely Mustering Arming & Disciplining every Able Bodied Man within the Province, and further for the regular ordering & governing of such when upon an allarm or Invasion call'd out to Service.

I have in this Province Thirty Two Regiments containing in all upon the Alarm List Forty Five Thousand Seven Hundred & Sixty Four Men of which 37,446 are by Law obliged to train and turn out into the Feild upon any Alarm or Invasion, under this Law that now makes Mutiny & Desertion Death.¹ I now therefore hope after having Modell'd and Fram'd this Body of Men into more and smaller Regiments and other Divisions better adapted for Training and Disciplining them to see the Ancient and Military Spirit of New England revive in proportion as their discipline reforms.

I also laied before them as referr'd to in my Speech a Method (N° 2) of Defending their Inland Frontiers in which I have the pleasure to see them intirely acquiesce

and they will make Provision accordingly.

A Fort at Penobscot River (called by the French in their Claims to it Pentagonet) wou'd be of the Utmost Importance. It would putt the British Right, out of a Dispute. It would take possession of this very fine Country, which the Indians never dispute when done in warr. It wou'd effectually drive off the Remaines of the Noridgwoak and Penobscot Indians 2 as it wou'd break up their Hunting and Fishing. It would be taking Possession of the very finest Bay in N. America for large Shipping just at the Mouth of the Bay of Fundy and wou'd be Advancing the Frontiers of His Majesty's Dominions. I have laied the Matter before them, not formally in a Speech or Message but in that way which I judged most likely to obtain with them, in a way that they may take it up as of Themselves. It has so far succeeded—That they have unanimously voted the Propriety of the Measure, the Expence is the only Difficulty, a Committe appointed to consider it have agreed to report it—and I am not without hopes of carrying the Point. If I do I shall think it my Duty to see it executed Myself, and shall go down thither early in

1 Acts and Resolves, IV. 52, 119-121.

² Tribes of the eastern Abenaki Indians, who were always to a greater or less extent under French influence. The more modern spelling is Norridgewocks.

our Spring with such Forces as they will enable me to Enlist

by the Provision they make.

I have also in the most earnest Manner labour'd with them to obtain their making Provision for 360 Rangers the Ouota required of this Province by Lord Loudoun, for I am sure there is no one Measure better Calculated to aid and Assist the Regular Service than this. But I remain without Success hitherto, the Reason they give for not Sending this Ouota is that if the whole Service of North America was to be proportioned out by Quota, The Expence they are at (even £18,000 Sterling last Year in the Article of their own particular defense, and £147,996 Sterling the whole charge of the Government) vastly exceeds the Quota that any other Province bears to that Service. - I should from the very Small Expence that the Establishment for these Rangers wou'd be in - in proportion to the Whole Expence the Province is at, hope they might be induc'd to comply with Lord Loudoun's demand, did I not apprehend that there must be some latent reason that Does not appear & that I cannot account for. I am further Anxious to obtain this, to avoid the Ill Effect their Refusal may have on other Provinces, and to prevent the Disreputation that may arise upon this Province alway hitherto and even now Zealously active for his Majesty's Service . . . I have to be, with most profound Respect and Duty Sir

Your most obedient faithfull & most humble Serv!

T. POWNALL.

Sir, P. S. Jan. 19.

My Assembly have this day putt off the Consideration of Building a Fort at Penobscot to the Spring Sessions which has a bad aspect, and if I may be allowed to indulge my Suspicions on this Matter I own I do suspect that the view of those who are the Authors of this Procrastination have in view, that if they cannot prevent it then, they may have what they do in this Matter at that time to plead as a Reason why they cannot join Lord Loudoun with any Assistance he may require.

T. P.

GOVERNOR POWNALL TO PITT1

January 20. 1758.

Sir,

At the time of writing my Letters of the 15th,2 I had great Expectations that the Assembly would have enabled me to have taken possession of the Penobscot Country and to have secured that Possession by sufficient Fortresses, but they are so afraid of the Expence. . . . I would undertake & be answerable for the Success, to have performed this Service with 500 Men in three Months, had the Assembly afforded me the Means of doing it. I cannot Sir, but think it my Duty to lay the Matter thus before you, that if it should appear to you of the Importance that it does to me, and it should be thought proper that the Crown should advance the Money, in Case the Assembly do finally reject it. This glorious Opportunity may yet be retrieved; The only Difference, as the Matter is now Circumstanced, is, that it must be deferred till the latter end of Summer, instead of Early

Spring, the more proper Time. . . .

To extend the idea yet further, The very Force (enlarged somewhat) that should be carried down to Penobscot to effect this Service, might as soon as the Fort was so far advanced, that the People could work under cover, might, I say, leaving a Garrison of 200 Men, when the Enemy would suppose them to be returning Home, proceed in their Whale Boats, under Cover of the Armed Vessels, that are now actually in Pay of the Province, to St John's River in Nova Scotia, and break up every Settlement thereon, without even the Risque of a Repulse: And thus would those Seeds of future Disputes, and a future War, be rooted up entirely, which the French keep and nourish in that disputed Land; and thus would the French be entirely shut out from the Atlantic. It is an Affair of no Difficulty could the Money be got, and without the least Consciousness of Presumption, I am convinced that both Services might be done in four Months with a Thousand good Woodsmen,

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 71.

such as I could get in this Country at such Wages as are usual here. - I should beg that all Money Matters and Accounts might be put into the Hands of Proper Agents and Contractors, for that Purpose appointed: I desire no lucrative Jobb to be thrown into my Hands, I desire nothing but the Honor of Serving my Royal Master, and doing my Duty to my Country, which I think this Service would effectually do. If the Crown is to be at the Expence, it is necessary to mention one Caution, that the Government here as a Government, may have Nothing to do with it, For by their Commissioners of War, which are a kind of Field Deputies, They would most surely embarrass, Delay, render it more Expensive, if not abortive. A second to be provided against seems also necessary, that there be no joint or Heterogeneous Command. The Success of it must wholly depend on its Secrecy, I have not mentioned this to one Soul here, except Mr. Hutchinson, one of the Council, without whom nothing of any real Service was ever formed here, and without whose Advice I would not have presumed so far, on my own Judgment or Opinion, as to have mentioned it Sir, in this Manner to you. I have the Honor to be, in all faithfull Attachment & Duty Sir &c:-

T. Pownall.

PITT TO GENERAL ABERCROMBY 2

WHITEHALL. Janry 27th 1758.

Sir

Having, in my Letter of the 9th Inst, signified to you His Majesty's Pleasure, that you should cause the Troops destined for the Siege of Louisburg, according as any parts of them, & of the Transports which are to carry the Men, shall be ready, to sail in such competent & proper Divisions, as shall be judg'd most expedient for avoiding all Delays, and conducive to the expediting this most essential Service; and that you should exert your utmost care & Application, that

¹ Thomas Hutchinson, later lieutenant-governor of the colony.

² A. and W. I., vol. 76. ³ See letter of that date.

the Troops, Artillery & Stores, be all rendez-voused at Halifax, as nearly as possible, by the time prescribed in my Letter of the 30th past.1 I am now directed by the King to renew and reinforce the said Orders in the strongest Manner; and am to signify to you His Majesty's further Pleasure, that you do direct Brigadier Gen! Whitmore2 to repair to Halifax with the 1st Division of the said Troops, that can be in readiness to embark, & proceed to that Place; and you will deliver to Brigadier Whitmore the inclosed sealed Instructions, which he is not to open till he arrives at Halifax; But in case the said Brigadier shall be already gone to Halifax, you will then forward the above Packet to him, in the most expeditious manner; And in case of the death of Brigadier General Whitmore, or of his being in any Manner disabled from repairing to Halifax; It is the King's pleasure that you do immediately forward to Brigadier General Lawrence,3 the sealed Packet of Instructions above-mentioned, agreable to the Direction you will observe on the outside thereof.

I am now to acquaint you, that His Majesty is come to a Resolution to appoint Colonel Amherst with the Rank of Major Gen!, to command the Troops destined for the Siege of Louisbourg, and that the said Major Gen!, upon his return from Germany to England, where he is daily expected, will immediately repair to America, to take upon him the Command of the above Operation. Having, in my Letter of the 30th past, "recommended to you, by His Majesty's Command, the Raising as considerable a Number of Rangers as may be practicable, for the various Operations of the Campaign; And in particular, that you should not fail to cause a Body of the said Rangers, amounting to not less than Six Hundred, to be sent with the Forces to Halifax,

¹ See letter of that date.

² One of the three brigadiers who served under Amherst in the Louisburg expedition. After the capture of the fortress Whitmore was stationed there as governor, in command of four regiments.

³ See note to letter of December 22, 1756.

⁴ For a biographical notice of Amherst, see note to letter of March 30, 1758.

for the Expedition to Cape Breton." I am now to renew, and enforce the Execution of, this very material Service; But at the same Time, It is His Majesty's Pleasure. that you shall not, on Account of the said Rangers, should they not happen to be ready, detain the Troops from repairing with all Expedition, to Halifax, as directed: - and you are to send the Rangers, when ready, to Halifax, as soon after as possible. I am &cª W. Pitt.

PITT TO GENERAL LAWRENCE 1

WHITEHALL. Jan'ry 27th 1758.

Sir, As the Command of the King's Forces, ordered to be assembled at Halifax, for the Siege of Louisburg, will in case of the Death of Brigadier General Whitmore, or of his being in any Manner disabled from repairing to Halifax, devolve upon you, untill the Arrival of Major Gen! Amherst in North America; I am commanded to signify to you His Majesty's Pleasure, that you do, in such Case, consider the King's Instructions to Brigad! General Whitmore, Copy whereof is herewith enclosed, as an Instruction to yourself, as far as relates to your proceeding to the Island of Cape Breton with the Division of Eight Thousand of the said Troops, as is therein mentioned, together with the Artillery, Stores &c.a. and that you do punctually execute the several Orders Brigadier Whitmore was directed to give you on that Occasion; And it is the King's further Pleasure, that you do, in the Case above mentioned, direct such Officer as you shall judge proper, to remain at Halifax, to take care of that Place, & to protect & defend the Province of Nova Scotia.

I am &c:— W. PITT.

A. and W. I., vol. 76. Lawrence was made a brigadier-general in the December of 1757.

PITT TO GENERAL ABERCROMBY, OR LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR DELANCEY¹

Secret

WHITEHALL, Janry 27th 1758.

Sir,

I send you inclosed two Letters, the one addressed to Gov! Lyttelton,2 and the other to Brigadier Gen! Forbes;2 and as they are on a Subject of great Importance to the King's Service, I am to signify to you His Majesty's Pleasure, that, in case Brigadier Forbes is still at New York, you should immediately deliver the Letter to Him, but if He shall be set out for the South, you will, without Loss of Time, forward the same to Him, by the most expeditious and safe Conveyance, that can be procured, It being very material, that this Letter should not fall into the Hands of the Enemy; And you will, with the same Care and Expedition, forward the Letter, directed to Gov! Lyttelton. As it is uncertain whether this Letter may find Gen! Abercromby at New York; It is, in his Absence, addressed to Lieut. Gov! Delancey, in order that no Time may be lost in the Execution of the above Directions. I am &ca W. PITT.

PITT TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON³

Secret

WHITEHALL. Janry 27th 1758.

Sir.

The King having been informed, that Mr Calcock, now in Charles Town, in Your Province, and who is Master of a Vessel belonging to Messrs Shubricks, Carolina Merchants, is able to give some Material Informations relative to the Southward Parts of the Coasts of North America; I am to signify to you His Majesty's Pleasure that you do forthwith endeavour to find out the said Mr Calcock, and engage Him to repair, with the greatest Expedition, and as much Secrecy

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 76.

² See the following letters.

³ A. and W. I., vol. 76.

as possible, to Halifax in Nova Scotia, in order to give Admiral Boscawen all the Lights in His Power, concerning the Coasts above mentioned; and you may assure Mr. Calcock, that Care will be taken to give Him all proper Satisfaction for His Pains and Trouble, as well as for the Expence He may incur on this Occasion. And you will transmit to Admiral Boscawen any Intelligence, You shall be able to procure, of the Circumstances, & Situation of the Forts on the Rivers Mobile, and Mississippi; the Navigation of Those Two Rivers; and the Practicability of any Attempt to be made, towards the latter End of the Year, by a Body of Troops, that may be sent from Halifax, by sea, and supported by such Ships, as shall be judged to be properly adapted for that Service.

It is also the King's further Pleasure, that You do forthwith use your best Endeavours to procure, with as much Secrecy and Dispatch as possible, experienced Pilots, That can be depended upon, and who are knowing in the Navigation of the two Above mentioned Rivers of Mobile and Mississippi; and you will cause such Pilots to repair, in the most expeditious Manner, to Halifax, in Order to be employed on such Attempts, as Admiral Boscawen may think proper to direct; And Care will be taken to reward the said Pilots for

their Services.

As it is feared that it will be very late in the Year before this Letter reaches you; I cannot too strongly recommend to You to lose no Time in Exerting Yourself in the Execution of the very Material Orders above mentioned. I am &c:—
W. PITT.

PITT TO GENERAL FORBES 1

Secret

WHITEHALL. Jan'ry 27th, 1758.

Sir,
The King having been informed, that, in the Highland
Battalion, commanded by Colonel Montgomery, and now in

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 76. See note to letter of December 30, 1757.

South Carolina, there is a Captain Alexander Mackintosh, who was formerly Master of a Ship from Jamaica, and carried Prisoner to New Orleans; I am commanded to signify to you His Majesty's Pleasure, that you do forthwith direct the said Captain Alexander Mackintosh to repair, with all possible Expedition, to Halifax, in order to give Major Gen! Amherst, or the Commander of the King's Forces there, and Admiral Boscawen, all the Informations and Lights in his Power, relative to the French Settlements in the South Parts of North America; But I must recommend it to you, in a particular Manner, to observe the strictest Secrecy, with regard to the object of Captain Mackintosh's being sent to Halifax; And you will enjoin the same to Him, in Case You should find it necessary to open to Him the Occasion of the Orders, You shall give, for His Repairing to that Place.

I am &c:— W. Pitt.

MAJOR CRAVEN TO PITT 1

Castle Street Leicester fields Febry 1st 1758.

Sir

Having on my late arrival in England from America heared that His Majesty and His Ministers had received no Regular or certain Accounts from Lord Loudoun of the Transactions there; and as I had some little share in them, I thought it a Duty incumbent upon me to lay before His Majesty some Measures taken there which in my Apprehension were very fatal and Prejudicial to his Affairs — and which also is the Reason that Induces me to trouble you with the Following Relation of Facts. . . .

Gen! Shirley His Majesty's late Commander in Chief in North America in April 1756 (upon an Alarm that the French

¹ Chatham Mss., Bundle 96. Major Charles Craven, of Pepperell's regiment, the 51st. Craven built the forts at the Oneida Carrying Place which were destroyed by Webb in his precipitate and disgraceful retreat down the Mohawk upon receiving the news of the capture of Oswego. A facsimile of a map in the *British Museum*, showing these forts and stating Craven's connection with them, is in Hurlbut, *Historic Highways*, VII. 143.

were going to attack Oswego) ordered me to march with a Party of late 50th & 51st1 Regiments to re-enforce the Party then at the Onoida or great Carrying Place, A Post of the greatest Consequence not only for securing the friendship of the six Indian Nations in Allyance with the King, but the Channel thro' which His Majesty's Subjects carryed on a Trade with the Foreign Indians by the great Lakes, and thro' which His Vessels on Lake Ontario, and His Garrison of Oswego were supplyed with Stores Cannon, Ammunition & Provisions, and the Key which opens to His Majesty the way of cutting of the Communication between Canada & Louisiana, which Post was then Occupyed by a Cap! with 100 Men. on the 2^d of May when I arrived here and took the Command, I found Mess^{rs} Mackellar & Sowers Engineers employed in laying out a New Fort at Wood Creek on the spot of Ground where a former Garrisoned by a Lieut. & 30 Men had a few weeks before been attacked taken & destroyed by the Enemy,² & the Officer & party put to the Sword. But these Engineers being under Orders to go to Oswego, on their departure on 9th May 1756. In Consequence of Orders from Gen! Shirley communicated to me by Cap! Bradstreet, I sett Men to work to finish the Fort which they had began . . . [reported to Gen. Shirley need of regular Fort for his party . . . rec^d his Orders to build Fort New Port — &c. Fort New Port — &c: . . .] . . .

And afterwards he sent me an Order to strengthen my post at Fort Williams³ in such a Manner as I should judge best for its defence, which I put into Execution as is laid down in the Plan which I have the Honour to send you herewith; but having no money to pay the workmen who began to murmur, I applyed to Gen! Shirley who ordered me to

¹ These were Shirley's and Pepperell's regiments, respectively.

3 This post was at the east end of the carry between the Mohawk River and Wood's Creek. See map in Doc. Hist. of N.Y., I. 329. It was destroyed by Webb, and rebuilt in 1758 by General Stanwix.

² This was Fort Bull, on Wood's Creek, some four miles west of Fort Williams. See next note. An account of this affair by the French officer in command is in Doc. Hist. of N.Y., I. 329. See also Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe, I. 374, 375.

send him a Memorial specifying a Sum Necessary for the Present to carry on the Works, and he would grant a Warrant for it, which I accordingly did, but Gen! Shirley being about that time superceded in the chief Command the Memorial fell into Gen! Abercromby's Hands, who thereupon ordered me to make him a report of the three forts and of all other Forts between Oswego & Schenectady that came within my knowledge or Observation, with my Opinion & Remarks thereupon, which I did accordingly. The Men being discontented for want of pay, in order that works of such Importance might not be stopped, & not in the least doubting but that money would be sent to pay them I engaged my own Credit to a Merchant following the Army to supply them with such Necessarys as they might want not exceeding the pay of their daily Labour by which means I prevailed on them to work untill the Arrival of Major General Webb. —

I received from time to time repeated Intelligence of the Preparations the French were making to attack Oswego, which I always communicated to the Commander in Chiefe particularly in July 1756, when Cap! Bradstreet was attacked on his Return from Oswego.¹ (being the last trip he made

there with the Batteaux).

The Money for Pepperell's Regiment about this time came to the Carrying place in charge of Lieut. Elrington, but thinking it not safe to send him on with it to Oswego with so small an Escort as I could Spare from my Detachment, I stopped him with it, & wrote to Gen! Abercromby for Instructions; who by his letter to me of 12th July approves of my Conduct in so doing & tells me there will soon be an Oppertunity of a strong Escort to send it by — on 23th July Capt. Harris appointed to command one of the Vessells on Lake Ontario with Lieut. Joas & 30 Sea Men with Naval

¹ All stores had to be guarded in transportation. Two thousand boatmen were armed and placed under the command of Bradstreet, in the hope of thus rendering an escort of troops unnecessary. The action referred to took place on July 3. Bradstreet beat off the attack although greatly outnumbered. See account and map in *Doc. Hist. of N.Y.*, I. 312.

Stores Cannon & Ammunition arrived at the Carrying Place with Provisions who were Kept waiting there for the promised Escort 'till the Arrival of Gen! Webb on 20th August being six days after Oswego was taken.

On the 17th August I received the following note from the

Commanding Officer at Fort Wood Creek 1

"Sir, Oswego's taken and all the Officers & Men made Prisoners, Col. Mercer is killed, I have it from one of your Regiment who made his Escape. Signed John Par-

ker." To Major Craven.

I sent this note enclosed in a Letter to Lord Loudoun & a Copy of it in a Letter to Gen! Webb together with the Person mentioned to have Escaped in Charge of Cap! Denormany in the Batteaû Service, in a Batteaû down the Mohawk River, with Orders to stopp nowhere untill they mett Gen! Webb, they found him at the German Flatts by Seven o'clock next morning & delivered the Letters according to my Directions. I applyed to Capt. Harris to order the Sea Men to assist the Souldiers and Batteaû-Men ² . . . &c: . . . I request your good Offices with his Majesty (to whom I have already presented a petition) that I may immediately be employed again in such Rank as his Majesty may think

my services deserve without any further loss of time -

having the Honour to be with the highest Respect, Sir Your most obedient and most humble servant

CHA. CRAVEN.

Major to the Regiment late Sir W. Pepperell's.

Lord Barrington told me in answer to my petition to the King that nothing can be done untill Lord Loudoun & Gen! Webb arrive, but I beg I may have some provision made for me in the mean time.

¹ Fort Bull.

² The remainder of the letter is a personal complaint against the commander-in-chief.

PITT TO ADMIRAL BOSCAWEN¹

WHITEHALL. Febry 2n. 1758.

Sir,
His Majesty, considering how highly necessary Your timely Presence in North America, is to the Success of the important Operations, which are directed to be undertaken so early in the Year; I am to signify to you the King's Pleasure, that you do, as soon as may be, repair to Portsmouth, and proceed from thence, with all Diligence, to N. America, with such Ship, or Ships, of the Squadron under your Command, as shall be actually ready for the Sea, without waiting for the Rest of the said Ships, which You will direct to be got ready with the Utmost Despatch, and to follow You, as soon as possible, to such Rendezvous as you shall appoint them.

I am etc:—

W. PITT.

GOVERNOR POWNALL TO PITT²

Boston, Feb: 2.d 1758

Sir,

Having received His Majesty's repeated Commands signifyed by the Earl of Holderness in his letter dated Whitehall May 20, 1757, and by Sir your letter dated Whitehall 16 Sept! 1757, which I received the 29th Jan! 1758, ordering his Governors to use their utmost care and Diligence effectually to prevent the Scandalous outrages comitted by American

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 76. Edward Boscawen, Pitt's "Great Admiral," served under Vernon in the West Indian campaign of 1739–1742. From 1747–1749, he held the extraordinary position of commander-in-chief of both land and sea forces in the East Indies. In 1755 he was sent with a squadron to North America, to check the encroachments of the French. Three French ships were attacked off the St. Lawrence, and two were captured. On February 8, 1758, Boscawen was made admiral of the blue, and put in command of the fleet sent to besiege Louisburg. In 1759 he destroyed the Toulon fleet, in the Mediterranean. He died in 1761. He was one of the first to be interested in the hygienic conditions of life on shipboard.

Privateers against the Spaniards in Violation of the good Faith & Friendship subsisting between His Britannic & His Catholic Majesty. I have used my endeavors within my Department to effect His Majesty's Commands and have the Pleasure to see that no Complaints have arisen against

any Privateer from my Government.

At the same time, as the Jurisdiction of Vice-Admiralty which His Majesty is pleas'd to grant to his Governor of this Province extends to the Government of Rhode-Island. It is my duty Sir to lay before you some transactions in that Province which tend to avow & support the Practices complain'd of by His Catholic Majesty — and which if Discountenanc'd wou'd tend to cutt up by the Root the Scandalous Practices of the Privateers. I have been these two Months waiting for some Papers that I might be able to lay before You a Circumstantial detail of these Facts, but have not yet obtained them. The Following general Account of One Case I receiv'd this night I have but just time to transcribe it, Yet cannot but think it my Duty to send it by this Conveyance.

"The Privateer Sloop Black-Snake Ebenezer Tyler Commander belonging to Providence in the Colony of Rhode-Island being Commission'd by the Governor of the Bahamaes on the 28th of April last near the Matanzes¹ took the Sloop St. Joseph of about 70 Tonns laden with Logwood Hides, Indigo, commanded by Don Juan Boisserau (The Vessel & Cargo were of the Value of about 3800£ sterling) & brought the same to Providence: Where the same was Libelled for Adjudication. This Vessel had not the Usual Papers but upon Examination of Witnesses it appear'd that Don Manu de Britto of Campeachy,² and others all Inhabitants in the Dominions of the Catholic King were owners of said Vessels and Cargo: that the Logwood and Hides were taken on board Campeachy, and from Cam-

¹ A seaport on the north coast of Cuba.

² A seaport, capital of the state of Campeachy or Campeche, on the coast of the Bay of Campeche, the name given to the southern part of the Gulf of Mexico.

pechy they proceeded to the Mouth of the Messasippi and there purchased and took on board the Indigo and then saild for St Eustatia 1 and in the Prosecution of this Voyage were taken. - The Spanish Claimants being Strangers mett with difficulty to prepare themselves for Support of their Claim, & to procure the Security that is requir'd in such Cases. Deputy Judge of the Court of Admiralty partly from a Disposition to give some Indulgence to the Claimants by giving them time to prepare themselves and partly from hopes that the Cheif Judge would come from Messachusetts-Bay to determine the Case, sufferr'd the Time limitted by the Prize Act to elapse before he gave his decree: but by his decree Liberated the Capture and order'd it to be delivered to the Thereupon the Owners of the Privateer appeald from the Decree and brought their Action against the Judge for the Penalty given by the Prize Act for not giving a Decree within the Time limitted, which Appeal & Action are still pending."

I have also an Account sent me of the Courts there issueing out a Prohibition against his Majesty's Court of Vice-Admiralty in another Case. But cannot yet obtain the Particulars of that. I am also told that the Owners of Privateers from that Government have since sent some of their Prizes to be condemn'd at New London in Connecticut. And that the Government of Rhode Island is applying to the Crown to have a Court of Vice-Admiralty established within themselves, tho' I cannot yet warrant these last facts 'tis my Duty

to give warning of Them.

I have the honor to be, with all Dutifull Respect Sir, your most humble and most Obed! Servant

T. Pownall.

P. S. 'Tis supposed by some that the supposed name *Snook* of Halifax and this Black Snake are the same.

¹ One of the Leeward Islands lying west of St. Christopher, and belonging to the Dutch.

² Application was made in 1757, and a judge of vice-admiralty for Rhode Island was appointed in 1758. Col. Rec. of R.I., VI. 107, and Corr. of Col. Governors of R.I., I. 275.

GOVERNOR WENTWORTH TO PITT 1

Portsmouth, February 3rd: 1758.

Sir,

The last letters I had the honor to Recieve from the Secretary of States office were dated the second and Twentieth of May last signed Holdernesse, which I have answered by His Majesty's Ship Enterprize, & I have sent duplicates of the same by His Majesty's Ship Mermaid, which must of course be laid before you.

My letter to the Earl of Holdernesse Being sealed up before I had the Honor of Your Commands of the 16th of September, incloseing Mons! d'Aubreus Complaints of the violent and Piratical Conduct of the English Privateers In the West Indies, towards the subjects of His Catholic Majesty, pre-

vented my altering the Address.

Considering the Harmony subsisting between the two Courts at this critical time, Crimes of this nature must be highly aggravated in His Majesty's Sight with regard to the Government of New Hampshire, I can with truth say, that

they are not chargable;

With any of the Offences complained of, Haveing issued but one Commission to a Commander of a Privateer since the Commencement of the War, and that Privateer was out but one Cruize of six weeks, before the Captain was obliged to return, his Men being so disorderly, that he was apprehensive proceeding further might be attended with More fatal Consequences than the loss the owners had allready sustained, upon which They thought it most prudent to lay their designs aside — untill a better set of men presented.

The injuries that may arise from such unwarrantable proceedings to the Nation and the unhappy disputes that His Majesty May be involved in thereby, shall put me upon useing my utmost diligence to enquire after the Masters of the Privateers that were concerned in these depredations, and should any Spanish Vessell be brought into this port, Under any

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 71.

² See letter of that date.

pretence whatsoever, I shall not Fail of detaining her under the Guns of the King's Fort, untill I am fully satisfied of the Legality of her Capture, in makeing this enquiry should any difficulty appear I shall think it my duty to my Sovereign to detain her untill they were legally removed. I am, Sir, Your Honour's most faithfull Serv!

B. Wentworth.

PITT TO ADMIRAL BOSCAWEN¹

WHITEHALL. Febry 3th 1758.

Sir,

I am commanded by the King to acquaint you, that, as soon as the Landing of the Troops, Artillery, Stores, and all other Requisites for the Siege of Louisburg, shall, in Concert with You, have been compleated, as directed by the King's Instructions to Brigadier General Whitmore, and Brigadier General Lawrence, and which have been communicated to You; His Majesty relying on Your Zeal for His Service, is persuaded, tho' no particular Order is given, by your Instructions to that purpose, that you will not omit attempting to Force the Harbour of Louisburg, in Case you shall judge the same to be practicable, as the Success of that Operation will greatly tend to shorten and facilitate the Reduction of that Place; And you will, with the Fleet under your Command, give such farther Aid and Assistance, as you shall be able, in the carrying on the Several Operations of the Said Siege of Louisburg.

I am &c:-

W. PITT.

GOVERNOR SHARPE TO PITT²

10th of Febry 1758.

Sir,

As soon as I had the honour to receive the Earl of Holdernesse's Letter dated the 20th of May last I sent to Each of the

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 76.

² A. and W. I., vol. 71. Printed in Md. Arch., IX. 135.

Naval Officers in this Gov^t a Copy of the Additional Instruction which His Majesty was pleased to give the 5th of October 1756 for preventing more effectually any Depredations being committed by the Masters or Crews of British Privateers on any Spanish Vessels & I directed the Naval Officers to examine the Masters of all Privateers or Vessels having Letters of Marque that should come into their respective Districts & in case any of them should not have received a Copy of that Instruction I desired the Naval Officers to deliver them one & to enjoin the strictest observance of it. I shall however upon the Receit of your Letter dated the 16th of September last write again to the Judge of our Court of Vice Admiralty & to the Naval Officers upon this Subject, & if any Person that might be suspected of having committed any such outrages as are mentioned in the Paper you were pleased to inclose me shall come into this province I will give orders for his being proceeded agst with the utmost Severity —

[No signature.]

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR DE LANCEY TO PITT1

New York. 13th February. 1758.

Sir,

I had the honor on the 19th of January of your letter of the 16th September 1757, inclosing an extract of divers Complaints made by Mons. d'Arbeu of violences and depredations committed by his Majesty's Subjects on those of Spain; upon which I immediately issued a Proclamation to notify the King's pleasure on this subject and on the 23th I wrote a letter to Lewis Morris Esq. Judge of the Admiralty here inclosing a translation of the Paper sent to me, desiring him to informe me, whether any of the Matters complained of, had been committed by Privateers of this Port, that I might order prosecutions to be commenced against the delinquents; to which I received his Answer of the 10th or the 11th of this Month acquainting me as follows: Upon perusing the extract delivered in by the Spanish Envoy, I do not

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 71.

² See letter of that date.

recollect that any of the Instances of Complaint mentioned in it, relate to any privateers of this Port or Vessels brought in and proceeded against before me, except that commanded by Francis Del Valle. This Vessel called Il Santo Christo etc. was libelled on the 11th of November 1756; the Spanish Captain interposed a Claim and after the Cause was at issue Depositions taken, publication passed, hearing had and full defence made, I proceeded to sentence on the 4th January 1757 acquitted the Vessel and a Nigro Boy, but condemned the Cargo as lawfull Prize. I shall write to the Judge of the Admiralty for the whole process of this Affair to be ready for me at my return from Hartford in Connecticut, whither I am to attend my Lord Loudoun to a meeting of the Governors of the more Northerly Colonies, which his Lordship has appointed on the 20th Instant. Cap! Phillip Ybannes who was plundered by Cap! Richard Haddon is now here and I have put him in a way to recover the loss he has sustained and if he meets with Justice in the Admiralty he cannot fail of a recompence.

I have just now received a Memorial of Antonio de la Rosa a subject of the King of Spain, who was on the 20th. November last stopped by James Griffith Captain of the Privateer Revenge of this Port & sent with his Sloop and Cargo for this Port, but was cast away at Martha's Vineyard near Rhode Island and the Vessel and Cargo lost: I shall give him my protection and all Assistance I can and shall direct the Advocate General to take the proper steps to get a recompence for him from the Securities given by the Owners for the good behavior of their Captain. I cannot but observe that if the judges of the Admiralty did give a little more discountenance to these privateers or the Captures of Neutral Vessels, his Majesty's Ministers would not so often be troubled with Complaints from Spain. I shall do my utmost to discover all violations of justice, and disturbers of the Harmony subsisting between the two Nations, and to bring them to condign and exemplary punishment: But as we have no

¹ See Loudoun's letter of February 14, 1758.

Commission here for trying of Pirates, the Commission issued at his Majesty's Accession to the Throne for this purpose having been lost many years ago, perhaps consumed when the Secretary's office was burnt, We should be under a Difficulty how to procede against them if taken and brought here; I need not point out the Necessity of Anothers being sent out for this & the neighbouring Provinces & I beg you will be pleased to get it done.

I have the honor to be with the greatest regard
Sir, your most obed! & most humble Servant
JAMES DE LANCEY.

LORD LOUDOUN TO PITT 1

New York. February 14th 1758.

Sir,

In order to lay the King's Affairs in this Country before you, it will be necessary to run over a Series of Facts that have happened, and have created a great deal of business to me, since I had the honor to write to you last, in the course of which, I shall give an Account of the Steps I have taken on them; And that You may be the more enabled to Judge, of how far I have acted properly, I shall annex Copies of the Letters, that have passed on the material parts of those Affairs.

Whilst I was at Albany, & the Forces were on their March to their Winter Quarters, the French made an Inroad, with a body of Cannadians and Indians, into the German Flatts, near Herkermers,² which is our most advanced Post on the Mohawk River; a thing impossible to prevent in this Country, where the Out Settlers are so dispersed. . . . The first Intelligence we had of this, was by a Message from the Oneida Indians, (thro' whose Country they came) to Captain Townsend of the 22^d Regiment, who Commanded the Garrison of two hundred Men, in Fort Herkermer, to acquaint him that a great body of French were marching that way: this he received on the Evening of the 11th of November, and next

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 86. ² See note to letter of November 26, 1757.

morning the Enemy plunder'd and burnt the Houses, and killed and carried off the remainder of the People that fell into their Hands; by which Means, the Stroke was struck before the Intelligence reached me; And as the Indians had so often given false Intelligence, of motions of the Enemy that way, that had not the least foundation, Sir William Johnson who lives on that River, was so little alarmed, that he had gone no further, than to order the Militia to hold themselves in readiness to March; notwithstanding of which, as the Enemy have but a short March across, from Swigatchie 1 to the great carrying place, I gave Lord Howe 2 an Order, to take the Command of the two Regiments at Schenectady and the posts on the Mohawk River, that he might take what Force from them he saw necessary, without waiting for further Orders; and I threw in part of the 42d Regiment of Highlanders into Schenectady, that there might be no want of numbers for this Service. - Lord Howe put part of the Troops on their March, and went on himself, called at Sir William Johnsons, who was ill in Bed, but had his people about him, by whom he Corresponded with me at Albany; from thence Lord Howe went on to Herkermers, with part of the Militia of that County, and the few Indians that could be Collected, but on the evening of the 13th, before he got there, the Enemy were retired, except a few Oneida Indians, who burnt a Mill and some Hutts above Herkermers. - When his Lordship sent out the Indians and White Men to reconnoitre their Numbers, they returned without seeing them, but reported, from the Noise they made, their Numbers to be great; and when he proposed to them, to send out a second party, to discover their numbers with certainty, they absolutely refused to go if any White Men went with them; And from that time, he had no Manner of Use of them, altho' they were Mohawks; which further confirmed the Intelligence I had heard, that the Six Nations had been

¹ See note to letter of April 25, 1757. An Indian trail led from the Oswegatchi river to Lake Ontario, a distance of some forty-five miles from the fort. Doc. Hist. of N.Y., I. 281, 336, and map at end of volume.

² See note to letter of November 26, 1757.

Debauched by the French, and were in danger, of even acting openly next Campaign against Us. here I shall leave the Indian Affairs, in order to collect them as much, as the Nature

of them will permit me, into one part of my Letter.

The Enemy retired after having done the above Mischief, but the Country there have been ever since, in Apprehensions, of another Visit, which has obliged me, besides the 200 Men, of the 22^d Regiment, at Fort Herkermers, the 100 Men at Conajahora, and the 100 Men at Fort Hunter, of the 27th Regiment, to throw up a Body of 100 New York Rangers; to which Major General Abercromby has since added, part

of the Massachusetts and New Jersey Rangers.

The next thing that happened, in point of time, was the dispute, between Governor Sharpe of Maryland and the Assembly of that Province, in relation to the Provincial Troops raised by them, the Command of which Troops, the Assembly insist on wresting out of His hands as Governor, and indeed out of the King's hands, and would take into their own hand the Sole Command and destination of them; on which the Governor writ to me for advice, how he was to proceed, in case the Bill for that purpose was presented to him for his Concurrence, and to warn me, of the Danger of Fort Cumberland being deserted by its' Garrison, in case the Assembly insisted on their then present Opinion, and would make no further Provision for the support of that Garrison. On which I writ the enclosed Letters to Governor Sharpe, and Colonel Stanwix,3 which will shew you the Steps I have taken, for the Security of Fort Cumberland, and the provisional Orders I have given: As the distance is so great, and the Communication so difficult between them, and me, as hardly any of the Letters that go beyond Philadelphia ever arrive, and when they do, it is from three to Six Weeks, just as the Post pleases to go.

To explain these Letters, it is necessary to observe, that, by my Letter of April last, I acquainted you that, at the Meet-

¹ Canajoharie. ² On the Mohawk.

³ See note to letter of October 22, 1757, and Md. Arch., VI. 550, 554; IX. 23.

ing with the Governors of the Southern Provinces, as I found the supplying of the whole of the Provincials to the North with Provisions, amounted to a very great Sum, I had settled with the Southern Provinces, that they should, at the Expence of the several Provinces, maintain all the Provincial Troops raised by them, that I should destine, for the Defence of their own Province; but that I would supply, with the King's Provisions, such of their Troops as I should march out of their Province, on the general Service of the whole.¹

And as at the Meeting it was unanimously agreed that Fort Cumberland was in the Province of Maryland, I allotted the 500 Men they were to raise, for Garrisoning that Fort and Fort Frederick, and keeping up the Communication between them; which is the Reason I have directed, in my Letter to Colonel Stanwix, that if he cannot keep those Troops in that Garrison, on the footing they then stood, that he may so far break thro' that rule, as to furnish them with Provisions, if by that, he is able to persuade them, to continue to Garrison that Fort.

You will likewise observe, that I have, so far as it lays in my Power, endeavored to have that Fort Garrison'd by Provincials, rather than by the King's Troops; my reason for that is this; from all Accounts, it is not tenable if attacked, both from its Situation and from its works, and I think it more calculated for Scouting Parties than regular Troops; and if it is taken by the Enemy, it will be less an affair of Eclat, than if it were Garrisoned by the King's Troops.

The next thing that occurred, was the Dispute of Quarters that happened at Boston (on the arrival of the recruiting parties from the Troops in Nova Scotia) . . . this affair took up a very long time in Negotiating, as from Experience I find, nothing is to be done by Letters in this Country, for they will Negotiate with You, by Letters, as long as You will, without ever coming to any determination; so that the only way of carrying on business, is by being on the spot,

where, when you can bring them to agree, You can bring them to act, before they have time to change their minds.

This will likewise appear, from the long Negotiation I have had at Boston, in regard to the Rangers, . . . it hung on to the 20th of December, at which time, the Assembly gave a refusal to it; and the Men from that Province, that were in Esopus, are now gone home; the Account, of what those of them that are on the Mohawk River have done, is not arrived.

The want of those Men, in themselves, is not verry Consequential; but the Precedent, of one Province breaking off and not furnishing in Conjunction with the others, may have very bad Effects, as the Universal plan in this Country is, to throw all Expences off themselves and lay it on the Mother Country; therefore the Danger is, others will follow the Example.

* * * * * * *

Another difficulty has arisen, on the Point of the Quotas to be furnished by the different Provinces; in September, when Governor Pownall was here with me, he was of Opinion that I should take no Notice of the Quotas, as settled at the General Meeting at Albany, but to write to the Governors of the different Provinces, for such a Number of Men from their Province, as I thought necessary for the Service, proportioning that, as I judged they had abilities to furnish. I told him I could not agree to make any Alteration, in the only rule that had been universally followed and acquiesced under, altho' the proceedings of that general Meeting, after the return of their Commissioners from it; yet, as they had all continued ever since, to furnish by that Quota, I thought it was too hazardous, to attempt an Alteration in it at this time; and there it ended.

But, by the short Postscript, of Governor Pownall's Letter of January 30, I see, that the Reports that had prevailed here for some days, is so far true, that there has been

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On the Hudson.

² This was the well-known Albany Congress of 1754. See Jour. of Leg. Council of N.Y., January 27, 1756.

an Invitation to the Four Governments of New England, to meet at Boston, to concert some plan, with which I have not been entrusted; the Report is, that the Governor of Rhode Island refused to come to the Meeting, except the Commander in Chief was made Acquainted with it; 1 and that the Governor of Connecticut proposed, that New York should be consulted; but by his Letter of February 2d, it seems he has been brought over, and has sent Commissioners; And from that Letter, it appears the purposes are, for settling the respective Quotas, and taking Measures for duly applying the Combined Forces &c: - I shall not say whose Plan it is, as my Information does not name any Person with certainty; but three Provinces meeting at this Season of the Year, to make an Alteration in the Quotas of six, that have been in use to furnish their Quotas, by a rule acquiesced under so many Years; and where New York one of those Six, has never been Inform'd; and the Jerseys does not appear to have been invited; and Rhode Island appears, to have refused coming to it, on the plan that has been proposed; Appears to me to be an Affair of great Consequence, which if not prevented, is likely to create disputes and Animosities among the Provinces, and will probably prevent, in a Great Measure, the Harmony that ought to be cultivated amongst them at this time, and deprive the Public, in a great Measure, of that Aid they have a right to Expect from them at this time; And as to their Applying the combined Force, I take that to be entirely in the King, who sends his Orders on that Subject, to whomever he thinks proper to appoint to the Command of his Troops, to whom what Men the Provinces Raise are intended as an Aid, and not at all under the Command of the Governor, after they are raised, as to the Services they are to be Employed in.

In order, as far as I can, to prevent the bad consequences I apprehend from this Measure, I have Invited the Governors of the four New England Colonies; New York and the Jerseys, to meet me at Hartford in Connecticut (as the most

¹ See correspondence of the governor of Rhode Island and the secretary of Massachusetts Bay in *Col. Rec. of R.I.*, VI. 115, 116.

Centrical Place) on the 20th of this Month, in order to prevent, if I can, any Measure being taken by a part, that may affect the whole, or, if Measures have been taken, to reconcile the parties, and to, at least Soder up matters so, that we may be able to go on with the Publick Service: I shall lose the less time by this, as the Boston Assembly has been adjourned to the 2.d of March, before I was informed of it.

I shall now give You a short state of Your Indian Affairs. . . . Sir William Johnson assures me, he has taken all the Pains in them he possibly can, but there has been a general Defection thro' almost the whole of them, which appeared on this side, by the few Sir William Johnson was able to bring out last Year, and that, as soon as Fort William Henry was taken, they all returned home, in place of remaining to give Us their Assistance; And we have great reason to believe, that both the Onondaga and the Oneidas, had a number of their People with the French that destroyed the German Flatts; and the few Mohawks that were at home, were of no manner of use to Lord Howe, when he went up the Mohawk River on that occasion, and indeed, my private Intelligence went so far as to say, the Six Nations would act openly against us next Campaign.

Of late, Sir William Johnson has had an Invitation to meet them at Onandaga, from whence he has great hopes of success; and by His Intelligence, there seems to be some discontent very lately got among them, against the French; ... if the Account is true, which I received last Night from Sir William Johnson, forwarded by Major General Abercromby, along with the Message from the Quakers in Pensilvania to the Indians; both which you have enclosed.2

The Message from the Quakers to the Indians, is of so extraordinary a Nature, that I dispatched an Express immediately to Major General Abercromby, to endeavor, by all means to get possession of the Original, if it is in writing, as from thence we may be able to detect the Authors.

¹ This meeting took place in May, but the unsettled state of the country decided Johnson to remain away. Stone, Life of Johnson, II. 66, 67.

² See Loudoun's letter to Governor Denny. Penn. Arch., III. 338.

Sir William Johnson has all along complained greatly, of the mischief that was done to the King's Indian Affairs, by the intermeddling of the Governments, particularly Pensilvania; and last Year, at his earnest Sollicitation, I writ a Letter to that Government, to endeavor to prevent their meddling any further in them, a Copy of which I transmitted to the King's Ministers, and desired further directions, how to proceed in Indian Affairs; but to this, I have had no Answer in any Shape, which lays me under great difficulties, when Sir William applies to me on such occasions. — He applied to me lately, on the intermeddling of some Society in Pensilvania, with the Indians, and desired I would apply to Governor Denny, which I accordingly did, and he is in search after it, but had not got to the knowledge of it; but the Original You see, has fallen into Sir William's own hands.

Finding, on Lord Howe's return, so strong a Confirmation of my Information, of the Disposition of the Six Nations, I called together the General Officers and Colonels, that then remained at Albany, which were, Major General Abercromby, M! Webb, Colonel Forbes and Lord Howe, in order to consider, of the general disposition necessary to be made of the Troops, for the next Campaign; where, from the disposition the Indians seemed to be in, we agreed that, it was necessary to have next Summer, such a force in the back parts of this Country, as should not only keep those Indians in awe, but, as should be able to act offensively against the Enemy; and that as the Enemy had got, in Conjunction with them, such a large body of Irregulars, it was absolutely necessary for us to encrease Our Light Troops, so as to be able to keep the Field, against the Enemys Canadians and Indians, who both act in the same manner, in the Field; and on this, advised a great addition to be made to the Rangers.

I have so far followed this Advice, as to compleat the four Companies in the King's Pay; and to order the raising of four new Companies, to be in the field by the 15th of March; and Jacob, the Indian, who was in the Service in 1756, but

was debauched from us last Year, returns with his fifty Indians.

* * * * * * *

On this Occasion, Lieut Colonel Gage¹ made an offer, of raising and cloathing, at his own Expence, [a] Regiment of 500 Rangers, at the same Pay with the Troops, if His Majesty should be graciously pleased, to appoint him Colonel of that Corp. As by this Plan, I should both, make so great a Saving to the Publick, in reducing the Pay of the Rangers, from Seventeen Pence halfpenny Sterling, to Sixpence, and their Cloathing; and at the same time, have a Corp of Rangers that would be disciplined, and have Officers at their head on whom I can depend, which, except a very few, is not the Case at present; And as by this Plan, if it Succeeded, I should be Independent of the Rangers, and from thence be able to reduce their Expence, besides which, as I am obliged to encrease the Rangers, it is necessary to have an Officer, at their head, by whom I can communicate the Orders to them, and to be answerable for their being Executed.

On this view of things, I have so far accepted of the plan,

as to sett him about raising them; . . .

As I could not propose, that Lieut. Colonel Gage should raise his own Men, for carrying this plan into Execution, till His Majesty had signified His Pleasure upon it, I have for that reason, advanced the Money for the Cloathing and raising this Regiment, on Lieu! Colonel Gage's Security to repay it directly, in case His Majesty approves of the Plan.

I have likewise given him a draft of Ninety Six Men out of the Troops, for Sergeants and Corporals, and to make a beginning, for which he is to pay, the respective Regiments, on the same footing as the Drafts are paid for; and they are now going on Successfully in recruiting, many People having enlisted with them, that could not be brought to enlist with the Regular Troops.

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¹ See note to letter of April 25, 1757.

As the Packet has brought no Orders for the next Campaign . . . I find myself under a Necessity of making

preparations. . . .

I have proposed three Plans, to be carried into Execution this Year; the first, early, on Louisburgh, before the Enemy can be able to throw in Provisions or Succours, or get Ships

into the Harbour to strengthen the Place.

And as from the Intelligence I have had, from many People who have been taken and brought in here, in their Passage from thence to the West Indies particularly Sergeant Hamilton of the Marines, who was saved out of the Tilbury, and was taken in a French Ship that was carrying him Prisoner to the Cape; who assures me, that there are no Ships of War left there; that they at first intended, to have left the Tonnant and a Frigate, which had both suffered in the Storm, but they afterwards got them refitted, and he saw the whole Ships of War Sail for Europe: He further says, that they were in great want of Provisions, which had obliged them to send part of the Garrison to Quebeck; that there sail'd from France, in September, Six large Transports with Provisions, four of which were taken in Europe, and the other two arrived at Louisburgh, two days before the Fleet sailed; and that the Fleet took the whole of that, without allowing any of it to be Landed: He likewise says, that both the Garrison, which was 2200 when he left it. and the Inhabitants, were very sickly, having got the black Fever and Flux, to a violent degree, among them; and that they had neither fresh Provisions, nor Medecines in their Hospital.

In this Situation, it appears, that the Siege of Louisburgh may be undertaken, by Major General Hopson, with the Troops now in Nova Scotia, Join'd by a Body of New England Provincial Troops; and to Settle this Plan, I have writ to Major General Hopson and Lord Colville,3 to send Colonel Lawrence, to concert the Measures with me, after

² Cape François. ³ See note to letter of January 1, 1758.

One of Holburne's fleet. She was lost in the gale of September, 1757, and her crew picked up by the French.

I have heard from him, the Opinion of the General and Commodore.

As the General has a thorough knowledge of that Country, and must have earlier Intelligence than I can have here, I have proposed to leave to him, to Settle what Troops he will take with him, and what he will leave for the Garrisons: He had when I sailed from thence, in August, compleat, 5400 regular Troops, part of which he has discharged, as being unfitt for Service, particularly of the Men drafted from Major General Shirley & Pepperels Regiments, for all which I made an allowance, at the division of the drafts; . . .

The next plan I am preparing for, is an Attack on Fort Du Quesne, which I propose should be undertaken with two thousand of the regular Troops, and the Provincials of Virginia, Maryland and Pensilvania, who I hope will

furnish 2000 Men. . . .

And from the behavior of the Cherokees, who last Summer were in Virginia and Pensilvania, and went home in good humor, promising to return next Summer in greater numbers. I am now endeavoring to get five hundred, or a greater number, of them if possible, for which purpose I have sent M! Bird¹ of Virginia, (who has formerly treated with them very successfully,) to South Carolina, to assist M! Atkin² in this Negotiation, where, I am certain, Governor Lyttleton will give every Assistance in his Power.

The third Plan I am preparing for, is to endeavor to push into Canada, by Lake Champlain, where I may expect the whole Force of that Country to deal with. — In order to facilitate Matters on that side, I did propose, to make an Attack on Ticonderoga and Crown Point, this winter on the ice, and made the preparations for it. . . . I have

² Edmund Atkin was an Englishman, who had lived from boyhood in South Carolina, and was Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the southern

colonies.

¹ Colonel William Byrd of "Westover," the third of the name, and a member of the council, who had served several times as commissioner to the Indians. *Dinwiddie Papers*, II. 110.

detached Lord Howe on that Command. My preparations were for three thousand Regulars, besides Rangers, with a small Train, consisting, mostly, of Mortars and Haurtzers; but as the Frost has at last sett in so very hard, that it will be impossible to erect Batteries, I have left it to Major General Abercromby and His Lordship, to diminish from that, to what they Judge, will answer the purpose of a Surprize, with a Force sufficient, to prevent bad Effects from any Numbers they may send, if they should have Intelligence of the time of our Motions. — the Garrison at Ticonderoga, including workmen, consists of three hundred and Eighty, and at Crown Point, one hundred and Fifty.

If His Lordship succeeds, it will forward Matters greatly next Campaign, on this side; but great Numbers of Batteaus will be wanted, both to Transport Provisions, Artillery & Men on those great Lakes, which I am now Building, and have appointed Captain Bradstreet,1 to take charge of those for the Lake, and to provide the Batteau men for them. He proposes to collect those Men early, and with Eight Hundred, (such as he can raise at his own Expence, and who will remain in the Batteau Service after this is over,) to make an Attack on Cadaraqui,2 which he thinks, he can carry as soon as the Ice breaks up, or at least, to bring off or destroy, all the Vessels they now have on that Lake; and if he Succeeds, to be repaid his Expences, and be recommended to the King's Ministers, for their Favor and such Reward, as they may think fit his Services deserve. I am to furnish him with Boats and Provisions. . .

As you have ordered the Battalion, under the Command of Lieu! Colonel Montgommery,³ to South Carolina, where there are three Independent Companies Stationed, and as that Government is raising a Regiment of 700 Men for their own defence; and as I do not see, at present, any Offensive

¹ See note to letter of December 30, 1757.

² Cadaracoui, or Fort Frontenac, a French post on the north bank of Lake Ontario, at the point where its waters enter the St. Lawrence, there called the Cadaracoui river.

³ See note to letter of March 31, 1757.

Measures, the Troops in that Country can be employed in this Summer, I have determined to withdraw the five Companies, of the Ist Battalion of the Royal Americans, who I had sent there last Summer; as they seem now, to be of no further Service there.

* * * * * * *

Enclosed, I have the honor to transmit to You, the Copy of a Letter I receiv^d from Mo. Vaudreuil, and of my Answer to him, to which I have, as yet, had no return.

Since the writing of that Letter, I have had the most shocking Accounts, of the Murders the Northern Indians committed on the Prisoners, both on the Road, and even at Montreal, after they arrived there, without the Governors interfering to prevent it.¹

* * * * * * *

The Governments of Pensilvania & Maryland, are at present in a disposition, that makes business go very heavily on with them. — I flatter myself that, I shall be able to carry thro' the business at Pensilvania this Year, as I stand well with many of them; but the Assembly of Maryland, is in such a disposition, that I have not the same dependence on them; but as they are now met again, I hope M. Sharpe will be able to soften Matters so, as we may get on better, than their behavior, at their last Meeting, seemed to Promise.

Altho' Sir Thomas Robinson's Letters, of the 26th of October 1754,2 and all those since, where there was Occasion to Mention the Powers given to the Commander in Chief, as to the Command of all Troops raised or to be raised; and what His Majesty expected from his Governors in this Country, on requisition being made to them, for Quartering of the Troops &c; Yet, the great resistance that has been made in the one, and the plan, that appears from Governor Fitch's Letter, to be carrying on just now, seems to me, to

² Printed in N.Y. Col. Doc., VI. 915.

¹ The reference is to the prisoners taken at Fort William Henry the preceding summer.

make it necessary, to repeat and Settle what Powers His Majesty sees necessary, to give His Commander-in Chief in this Country, in order to carry on the War; and what He expects from His Governors in these parts. — I have not entered into all the particulars that may be necessary, as I shall be better able to do that, as soon as the Meeting at Hartford is over.

* * * * * * *

It is necessary I should further mention to you, that I have no Accounts, of any Money being sent in Specie, and that, without a large Sum comes early, it will not be in the Contractors Agents Power, to supply the Money necessary, without lowering the Exchange under parr. This arises from a Combination in the Monied Men of this Country, who, altho' there is a great Quantity of Specie in the Country, chose rather to let it lay dead, than not make all the Advan-

tages of it.

The three Regiments in Nova Scotia, that draw their pay from me, often streightens us in Money, from the uncertainty, of being able to send it there at certain periods, which has introduced the Custom, for the Troops formerly there, of receiving Six Months Subsistence in advance, from whence I am obliged to follow the same Custom, which drains the Deputy Pay Master General here, as great part of that Money, at the time it is paid, out here, has not been Issued at the Treasury, from where it Interferes with the Pay of the Troops in this Division.¹

I have the honor to be, with the greatest Regard Sir, Your most obedient and Most Humble Servant

Loudoun.

ADMIRAL BOSCAWEN TO PITT²

NAMUR3 UNDER SAIL. 19th, Febry 1758.

Sir,

As we are now under Sail, I hope you will think we have lost no time since the Ships have been ready, and I beg

¹ See, in this connection, Pitt's letter to Lawrence of March 3, 1758.
² A. and W. I., vol. 79.

³ The admiral's flagship, of 90 guns.

leave to assure you we could not have sailed sooner, the ships have all been ready seven days, I will also venture to affirm, we shall be in America, as soon as it is possible for the Ships to cruize before Lewisbourgh, and because I think the quantity of Ice that will be then floating in those Sea's will make it difficult, I am determined to come to an Anchor near the harbours mouth.

The Dublin is returned Capt Rodney informs me he left the Prince Frederick ten days ago in the Latt. 42 North with the Transports and Coll! Amhurst's regiment all well on board, the Devonshire with the nine thousand tonn of transports for New York must be much farther in their way.

* * *

I am Sir

Invincible.

Lancaster.

Frigates.

Shannon.

Fireships.

Trent.

Ætna. Lightning.

your most Obedient and Most Humble Servant E. Boscawen.

ADMIRAL BOSCAWEN TO PITT 1

Namure. NAMURE AT S. HELLENS. at 2 o'clock in the morning. Royal William. 19 Feb. 1758. Princess Amelia.

I am now under sail with his Majesty's Ships named in the Margen little wind at last and by South, I am

S! your most Obedient and most

humble Servant

E. Boscawen

GOVERNOR LAWRENCE TO PITT 2

HALIFAX, 21st February. 1758.

Sir.

On the 9th Instant I had the honor to receive your Letter dated at Whitehall the 16th of September 1757;3 enclosing

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 79. ² A. and W. I., vol. 71. 3 See letter of that date.

an Extract of the Spanish Envoy's Complaints against some of His Majesty's Subjects in America, for depredations committed upon those of Spain, and signifying to me His Majesty's Commands for enforcing with the utmost vigor the observation of the Additional Instruction of October the 5th 1756 to all Privateers, and that the strictest Orders be given to prevent Spanish ships carrying their own Effects to their own ports from being disturbed or molested in their Navigation. I beg leave to assure you Sir, that I shall employ all imaginable Care and Attention in the Execution of His Majesty's Commands within this Province; and use my utmost diligence and endeavours for effectually preventing the Excesses and Enormities alledged to be committed in violation of the just freedom of Navigation of His Catholick Majesty's Subjects, and shall do my utmost for discovering and bringing to Justice & condign punishment all such violaters of Justice and disturbers of the Harmony subsisting between the two Crowns.

I have the Honour to be with all imaginable deference

and respect Sir

Your most obedient and most humble Servant Cha! Lawrence.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR ELLIS TO PITT 1

GEORGIA. February 28th 1758.

Sir

The 25th Instant I had the honour to receive your Letter of the 16th of September² relative to Mons. Dabieu's complaints of divers violences and depredations committed by his Majesty's Subjects in America, against those of Spain. The King's additional Instructions of the 5th of October upon that Subject, I was honoured with before; and have not failed to give Copys of them to the Commanders of all Privateers that have since touched at the Ports of this Province, and at the same time, strenuously exhorted them

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 71.

² See letter of that date.

to a strict obedience thereof. I shall redouble my Efforts upon every future occasion that may offer, effectually to suppress such infamous proceedings which certainly have a direct tendency to embroil us with all the Neutral Powers There has been but one Spanish Vessel brought into any Port of this Province since I have presided here, viz: the Auroca Commanded by Don Ilario D'Aranda from Pençacola, who, upon an examination of the Circumstances which induced the Captain of a Bermudas Privateer to bring him in, I immediately set at Liberty with an offer of full reparation for any Loss or Damages he might have sustained thereby, which however he did not insist upon, the Bermudian Captain I severely threatned and reprimanded, which may probably deter him from doing the like hereafter.

No Alteration has taken place in the Circumstances of this Province since my last Letter of the 3rd of January which contained everything Material that then occurred. We continue to be visited by great Numbers of the Creek Indians who appear to be well satisfyed with us; but expect entertainment and a few presents when they come here, which if they are refused, may disgust them, and give our Enemies an advantage and as at present we have not sufficient Means to do this, I must beg Leave Sir to repeat my wishes that a Sum may be annually allowed for this Service, £1500 at least, would be necessary,2 and no money could be better laid out, as the Creeks are the most formidable Tribe of Indians we have any Correspondence with upon this Continent, while they are at peace with us, they are a good Barrier against the French and Spaniards, who, sensible of their Importance, spare no pains or expence to break their Connections with us, which however they may find a difficult

¹ See note to letter of December 10, 1757.

² In the sessions of 1757-1758, Parliament granted £3,557. 105. for "defraying the charges of the civil establishment, &c. of the colony of Georgia, from 24 June, 1757, to 24 June, 1758." 31 George II. c. 33. In the following year a similar grant of £4,057. was made. 32 George II. c. 36.

task, if we are properly supported. I have the honor to be with profound deference and respect Sir

Your most obedient and most Humble Serv!

HENRY ELLIS.

PITT TO GENERAL ABERCROMBY 1

WHITEHALL March 3d 1758.

Sir,

The King having been pleased, by an Article in His Instructions to Major General Amherst, to give Directions (according as the respective Cases shall come to exist) with Regard to the Disposition of Part, or the Whole, of the Troops, now under His Command, when the several Operations, directed and pointed out, shall be over, as well as with regard to His putting Himself under your Command, as soon as He shall return to Halifax, where He is to remain with the Care of the Troops in the Province of Nova Scotia; I send you inclosed, for your thorough Information, in these Points, a Copy of the Article of His Instructions relative thereto; And It is the King's Pleasure, that you should accordingly correspond with Major General Amherst, and give Him, in due Time, such Directions, as shall be necessary, upon those Points.

I am &cª

W. PITT.

PITT TO GENERAL ABERCROMBY 2

WHITEHALL 3d March. 1758.

Sir,

I send you inclosed, the Copy of a Letter I have wrote to Gov. Lawrence, in consequence of a Proposal made by the Lords of Trade, and approved by the Lords of the Treasury, with regard to the Manner of defraying, as well the Charges of the Military Services in Nova Scotia, stated in the inclosed Account, and my Letter above mentioned to Gov.

A. and W. I., vol. 76. Appointed commander-in-chief in America to succeed Lord Loudoun.

² A. and W. I., vol. 76.

³ See the following letter.

Lawrence, as of any other Military Services, that shall appear to be necessary for the Defence and Security of Nova Scotia, and I am to signify to you, His Majesty's Pleasure, that you do accordingly supply Gov! Lawrence, from Time to Time, with such Sums of Money, as You, upon his Representation, shall judge requisite for the Purposes above mentioned, which you will charge in your Accounts in the same Manner as you do with Respect to other Military Contingent Services in America.

I am &ca.

W. PITT.

PITT TO GOVERNOR LAWRENCE 1

WHITEHALL. 3.d March. 1758.

Sir,

The Lords of Trade having represented, that great Difficulty & Embarrassment had arisen from the Demands upon the Publick for military Services in Nova Scotia being placed upon the Estimates, which they have from time to time been directed to lay before Parliament for the Civil Establishment of that Province, and their Lordships' having transmitted to me the inclosed Account of several military Services, the Charge of which is stated in the Estimate for Nova Scotia for 1758, transmitted by You and their Lordships having proposed, that, in case it is thought proper, to comply with the said Demands, the Expence thereof may be defrayed in the same Manner as is practised with respect to other military Contingent Services in America. mediately referred the Proposal above mentioned to the Lords of the Treasury, & their Lordships having agreed thereto, I am in Consequence thereof to signify to You the King's Pleasure that you do apply to Major Gen! Abercromby or [the] Commander in Chief for the time being of His Majesty's Forces in North America, as well with regard to the Several Articles stated in the inclosed Account & the Bedding for the Troops & Cloathing for the two Companies of Rangers in Nova Scotia, (which you have repre-

sented to the Lords of Trade to be necessary) as to any other military Services within your Province, & the said Commander in Chief will have Directions by this Conveyance to supply you with such Sums of Money as he upon your Representation shall judge requisite for any military Services, that shall appear to be necessary for the Defence & Security of Nova Scotia.

I am etc:—

W. PITT.

PITT TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON 1

Secret

WHITEHALL. March 7th 1758.

Sir,

You will have seen by my Letter of the 27th Janry,2 that the King has pointed out, and refered to the Determination of Admiral Boscawen, and Major General Amherst, the making Attempts, at One and the same Time, on the French Settlements on the Rivers Mobille and Mississippi, in case the said Admiral and General shall judge the same to be advisable, after their Operations in the Gulph and River of St Lawrence, or other Northern Parts of America, shall be over; And as It may be highly favourable for His Majesty's Service, and coincide with the above Attempts on Mississippi and Mobile, if an Attack on the Albama Fort 3 should be found practicable to be made, as nearly as may be about the same time, on the side of South Carolina; I am to signify to you His Majesty's Pleasure, that you do, by all proper and safe Opportunities, correspond with Admiral Boscawen, and Major General Amherst, on this subject; 4 and in case they shall determine to make any Attempts on those Parts, that you should use your utmost Endeavours to set on Foot and encourage an Expedition,

⁴ See Lyttelton's letter of November 4, 1758.

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 78.

² See letter of that date.

³ Also known as Fort Toulouse. Built by the French in 1715, at the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers, near the site of the city of Montgomery. Winsor, Mississippi Basin, 86, 153.

from your Province, against the Albama Fort, in case you judge the same to be practicable; and to engage, if possible, any of the Indian Nations to join therein, and co-operate, in the most efficacious Manner, with the Forces you may be able to collect for that Service; And you will be particularly attentive so to adjust and concert all Measures with Admiral Boscawen, and Major General Amherst, that any Attempt, which you shall, in consequence of these Orders, judge proper to make on the Albama Fort, may take place, as nearly as may be, at the same Time, that the Attempts, by the King's Forces, are to be made as above, on the Rivers Mobile and Mississippi.

I am &ca.

W: PITT.

GOVERNOR POWNALL TO PITT 1

Boston, March 14, 1758.

Sir,

On March the 10th, I was honor'd with Your two Letters dated Dec. 30, 1757.2 I had been then eight daies labouring to induce the General Court to make Provision for the Raising 2128 Men as a Quota of 7,000 proposed for all the Northern Governments upon a Plan which the Earl of Loudoun had proposed. The matter labour'd greatly, the House seemed to advance in nothing but Difficulties and Objections, Diffidence in the Plan, Objections against the Number as a Quota. Dissatisfaction against a Junction with the Regulars as the Matter of Rank then stood. I was enabled by the Receipt of His Majesty's Commands signifyed by you to take quite different measures as I did instantly that very Night and have the Pleasure to acquaint You that the House of Representatives came into an unanimous Vote next morning to raise a Sufficient Number of Men and determined the Number that they alone wou'd provide for shoud be 7,000 Men.3

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 71.

² See letters of that date to governors of northern colonies.

³ Acts and Resolves, IV. 135.

As the several Provinces of this Northern Department of America affect to wait for this Province & look to us for an Example, Immediately that night I despatched a Circular Letter to the Several Governors acquainting them what Measures the Legislature of this Province had taken: that we had sett them the Example, and hoped it wou'd be chearfully follow'd. If the Rest of the Provinces rais Men in the same Proportion to their Abilities, the six Northern Governments should raise near 27,000 Men. If they raise according to the unequal Proportion which by their own Rule they lay upon this Province, they will raise 23,000 which I shou'd hope wou'd turn out at least 20,000 effective. On this day a Bill has passed both Houses which I have this day enacted into a Law - Laying an Embargo on all outward bound Vessels, with a clause enabling the Governor with Advice of Councill to admitt of Vessels in particular Cases, departing, which was Necessary for the Supplying the Forces that are and may be at Halifax or other parts to the Eastward. I shall immediately send off an Express with a Second Circular Letter to all the Governors acquainting them therewith & requiring of them to concurr in the same Measure. I have the honor to [be] with most profound respect Sir,

Your most obedient & most humble Servant

T. Pownall.

P. S. I beg leave, Sir, to add one Article which when I first wrote this Letter I thought to be of too trifling a nature to trouble you with, namely to give a Spring to this good Measure I have offerr'd my People to go with them myself, since which I have had some of the best Gentlemen in the Country to offer their Services with whom the best of our Yeomanry will go, so that I hope once more to see such people turn out as did when Louisbourg was taken, I have wrote to General Abercrombie on this head and made a tendure of My Services to him.

T. P.

GOVERNOR POWNALL TO PITT 1

Boston, March 16. 1758.

Sir,

I herewith transmitt and beg leave to lay before you a State of Sundry Facts shewing some illegal and unwarrantable Proceedings in the Colony of Rhode Island in respect to the Court of Vice Admiralty in said Colony, which I directed the Judge of said Court to lay before Me in Consequence of his Majesty's Orders to me signified, Sir, by you to do everything in my Power to restrain the outrageous and illegal Practises of the Privateers in America; which I apprehend can never be effectually done while the Authority of his Majesty's Court of Vice-Admiralty is infringed where acting according to its duty: or where it be not regulated & reformed where there are Instances of undue and irregular Practices therein.

I have the Honor to be with most profound Respect Sir your most obed! & most humble Servant

T. POWNALL.

P. S. This Matter, Sir falls within my Department as My Jurisdiction as His Majesty's Vice Admiral and the Jurisdiction of His Majesty's Court of Vice-Admiralty extends over the Government of Rhode Island etc. — ²

GOVERNOR POWNALL TO PITT 3

Sir.

Boston, March 16th 1758.

This Day the enclosed Memorial was presented to me by the Officers of our Late Regiment, included in the Capitulation at Fort W. Henry. I do not presume to form an opinion

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 71.

3 A. and W. I., vol. 71.

² See letter of February 2, 1758, and note.

An abstract of the memorial, obtained from the Public Record Office, is to the following effect: They cannot feel themselves bound by the Capitulation of Fort William Henry (August 9, 1757) because By the first article of the Capitulation said Garrison of Fort William Henry "shall march out with Arms, Drums beating, Colours flying & other Honours of war," with all

upon the Point; & were I able, I shou'd not presume to Judge upon it, nor dare I venture to Act in a Case where the Law of Nations is involved in Circumstances of such Critical and Pernicious Consequences: I humbly beg leave, Sir, to lay the Matter before You: and to recommend the very hard Case of these Gentlemen to your Favourable Consideration. I must inform you Sir, that the Private men (the Corps being no longer subsisting) who were not nominally included cannot be kept from entering the Service.

I have the Pleasure Sir to acquaint You, that my Assembly have this Day voted a Bounty of Four Pounds per Man to such as shall enlist in the Canada Expedition and as an additional Encouragement Ten Pounds to every Man, who does not behave amiss, upon his Return if Canada

shall be subjected to the King's Arms.1

I have the honor to be with most profound Respect Sir, Your most obed! and most humble Servant

T. POWNALL.

GENERAL ABERCROMBY TO PITT²

(Abstract)

New York. 16 Mar. 1758.

H. M. Ship Squirrel arrived Sat: 4th Instant, with Pitt's dispatches of 30th December, which reached him at Albany, Tuesday, 7th. Expresses his Gratitude to the King for so graciously appointing him to Succeed Lord Loudoun as Com^{der} in Chief of the Forces in North America; begs Pitt to assure His Master "no endeavours shall be wanting on

Baggage, and shall retire to Fort Edward under French escort. This Article the Enemy broke. Men were stripped of Arms and baggage before marching out; rifled of money, and Numbers who applied to French officers for protection were refused; some killed by savages in woods, and some carried back as Prisoners.

2. The 7th Article says "sick not in a condition to be transported to Fort Edward" shall remain with Montcalm, who shall return them when cured. This Article violated, for Indians killed many wounded before marching out on 10th August.

Signed &c:...

¹ See Acts and Resolves, IV. 139.

² A. and W. I., vol. 87.

his side to prove his Zeal for H. M's Service." Thanks Pitt for his congratulations; he will "give frequent & Early Intelligence" of Events, during his Command.

GENERAL ABERCROMBY TO PITT1

New York. 16th March 1758

Sir,

As I have already had the honor, by my seperate Letter of this day,² to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 30th of December,³ by Captain Loring, I am also now to acquaint you with the receipt of your 2nd Letter, of the same day, containing directions from His Majesty, for my conduct in the high and important Command He has been graciously

pleased to honor me with.

As I have nothing so much at heart, as to comply therewith to the utmost extent of my Power & Abilities, I think I cannot any longer postpone acquainting you, with the small progress I have hitherto been able to make in them; first from Lord Loudoun's absence, who is not yet returned from Boston; and next, because I do not think I ought any longer to detain the Packet, lest you might be uneasy at the uncertainty of their having reached me. The first step I took upon the receipt of these my Instructions, was to give the necessary Orders, for the Troops Quarter'd in and about Albany, (destin'd for Halifax, according to the disposition transmitted by you) to hold themselves in readiness to embark for New York, as soon as the River was open.

With regard to the Body of Rangers, His Majesty has been pleased to empower me to raise, I am to observe to you, that as Lord Loudoun had already, in the beginning of January, given Orders for raising Four Companies of 100 Men each, which I am in hopes are near full by this time, as they were under His Lordship's Orders to repair to Fort Edward by the 15th March, I thereupon sent orders to them, from Albany, to halt and forthwith to encrease their Number to 125. per Company, which, together with a

A. and W. I., vol. 87. See note to letter of March 10, 1757.

Company of 100. now at Halifax, whither I have likewise directed these to repair to immediately, make up the 600.

you have destined for that Service.

As to M! Meserve, Lord Loudoun having engaged him at the beginning of this Year, to be at Albany as soon as the Season would permit him to work, and he being actually on the Road from Piscataqua thither, with a Number of Carpenters, I dispatched an Express to him, with Orders, to halt & proceed to Halifax with 80 Carpenters, agreable to His Majesty's Commands.

The Command of His Majesty's Troops, by my absence from Albany, devolving on Brigadier General Lord Viscount Howe; ² I accordingly gave Him the necessary Orders relative to this Command; and immediately thereafter, I, on Thursday the 9th instant, set out for this place, which from the depth of the Snow, then beginning to melt, rendered the roads so difficult, that I was not able to reach it, till the

13th at Noon.

As soon as I arrived, I had an interview with Lieutenant Governor de Lancey, who upon this, as well as upon all other Occasions, I found extremely well disposed to promote the Public Service; and accordingly we came to a resolution that I should write Him a Letter, desiring him to call a Council, and lay before them and His Assembly, the aid and Assistance His Majesty expected, at this present Critical Crisis, from His good Province of New York; and likewise, that they would consent to an Embargo, on all Ships and Vessells above 50. Tons burthen, the latter of which they complied with on the 14th, and the next day, agreed to raise 2680. Men,³ the Command of which is given to the Lieutenant Governor's Brother, Mr. Oliver De Lancey.

At the same time that I wrote to Governor De Lancey, I likewise made Application, by Circular Letters, to all His Majesty's Governors on the Continent, from New Hampshire to North Carolina inclusive, for the like aid and Assist-

¹ See note to letter of December 30, 1757.

² See note to letter of November 26, 1757.

³ See letter of March 23, 1758.

ance, in proportion to their respective Abilities as recom-

mendd by your aforementioned Letter; . . .

Pursuant to His Majesty's Commands, relative to the taking up a certain Number of Transport Vessells, to convey the Troops destined for Halifax, to that port, together with the Provisions, Stores Ammunition &c., necessary for the intended Attack on Louisbourg, I have consulted with Commodore Durell, And as there are not at present in this Port, a sufficient Number of Vessells requisite for this Service, we agreed that I should immediately send off Three different Persons to Carolina, Pensilvania, & Boston, to secure a proper number in those different Ports, where, I hope they will meet with Success; of which I shall acquaint You in my next.

On the 10th instant, arrived the Harriot Packet, which brought me the duplicates of your Letters of the 9th & 11th of January, And the next day came in here, His Majesty's Ship the Hampshire, Commanded by Captain Norbury, having under his Convoy the Nine additional Companies of

the Highlanders. . . .

The Troops being sickly, I have Cantoon'd them in Villages adjacent to this Port, for the sake of fresh Provisions & Vegetables; . . .

I have the Honor to be, with the highest Respect Sir, Your most Obedient and most Humble Servant JAMES ABERCROMBY.

GOVERNOR SHARPE TO PITT²

16th of March 1758.

Sir,

I do myself the honour to acknowledge the Receit of Your two Letters dated the 30th of December & to assure you that I will to the utmost of my Power obey & execute His Majesty's Commands thereby signified, but at the same time I think it my Duty to tell you that I am very much afraid the Assembly of this Province will not be prevailed on to exert

¹ See letters of those dates.

² A. and W. I., vol. 71. Printed in Md. Arch., IX. 153.

themselves in such a manner as you seem to expect. In my Letter dated the 22d of October I informed you that they were determined to make no farther Provision for the Support of any Troops that should be placed as a Garrison in Fort Cumberland & that I had thereupon desired the Earl of Loudoun to take such measures & to give such orders as he should think proper for the Preservation of that Place. When I found by His Lordship's answer that he could not just at that time order any other Troops thither, I communicated it to the Gentlemen of the Assembly & again press't them to comply with the Earl of Loudouns Request by enabling me to pay the Garrison above-mentioned, but they were so far from entering into His Lordship's Measures that they not only insisted on our Troops being withdrawn from Fort Cumberland, but likewise that they should be forthwith reduced from 500 to 300 Men & that none of such 300 should be subject on any account whatever to the Commands of the Earl of Loudoun or any other of His Majesty's Generals. —As the Gentlemen of the Upper House thought This an Infringement of His Majesty's Prerogative & moreover were of opinion that the Bill which was framed for raising the Supplies was not only unreasonable but in some Respect impracticable, they refused to give their Assent to it which laid me under the Necessity of proroguing them for a few Weeks as the Lower House had upon the Bill's being returned to them with a Negative come to a Resolution that they would not enter on any new Business that Session. On the 13th of Feby we met again & I then laid before them some more Letters that I had received from the Earl of Loudoun, by One of these we were called upon to augment our Forces without Delay so that we may have 400 Men ready in April to join his Majesty's 1 Regular Forces, over & above the Number that might be wanted to garrison Fort Cumberland & the other Fort that has been built within the Limits of this Province but as the Gentⁿ of the Lower House met determined to enforce the Bill which the Upper House had before rejected or such a one at least

as differed not from that in any material Circumstances, I soon found myself obliged to put an End to that Session & the Assembly now stands prorogued to the 23d Inst. The men that are in Garrison at Fort Cumberland being in number about 300 have continued to serve without Pay since the 8th of Octr as well as those that are at Fort Frederick, but as it could not be expected that their Officers would be able to keep them together much longer I wrote to the Commander in Chief as well as to Colo Stanwix & desired that some other Troops might be ordered to Fort Cumberland which I presume will be done as soon as the Roads become practicable.1 I thought it incumbent on me to make such Application lest Accidents should happen but I still hope that when I communicate to the Assembly the Contents of Your last Letters the Consideration of what our most gracious Sovereign & the Parliament of Great Britain have already done for us together with the certain Prospect of an active Campaign & the hopes of some Compensation for what they may expend will induce them to contribute towards the Execution of the plan that Brigadier Forbes is directed to pursue -[No signature.]

LORD COLVILLE TO PITT²

Northumberland at Halifax in Nova Scotia. March 20th 1758. Sir.

I have the Honour to acquaint you, that his Majesty's Ships, which were ordered to winter here under my Command, are now ready for Service. On the 17th the Sunderland sailed on a Cruize off Louisbourg. The Hawke Sloop, and a Schooner which I fitted out for the purpose, are employed in protecting our New England trade from Louisbourg Privateers. — Sir Charles Hardy arrived in the Captain yesterday; and expressed great Satisfaction, on finding the Squadron in such forwardness. I am with very great Respect, Sir

Your most obedient humble Servant

COLVILLE.

¹ See Md. Arch., IX. 150.

² A. and W. I., vol. 79.

GOVERNOR HARDY TO PITT 1

HALIFAX HARBOUR, the 22th March. 1758.

Sir,

I have the Honour to acquaint you that I arrived in this Port three days ago, after a Boisterous Passage of two

Months.2

I found the Squadron that Wintered here, under the Command of Lord Colville in a much greater forwardness, than I could have expected, and hope a few days will enable me to proceed to Sea with them, when I shall use my utmost endeavours to Block up the Port of Louisburg.

I have sent a Fifty Gun Ship to cruize off that Port; and the Boreas, the only Frigate here, will follow her in two days.

The Hawk Sloop and a Province Schooner Manned by Lord Colville are Cruizing to the Westward for the Protection of the Provision Vessels bound here from the Continent; I expect their return in eight days; I shall leave Orders for them to Join me, as by these small Cruizers I must mostly depend for Intercepting the Enemy's Vessels, with Provisions, Stores, or Troops.

I do not find any Accounts or Informations of the Enemy's Motions, or Intentions worth troubling you with. I have

the Honour to be Sir,

Your most Obedient Humble Servant

CHAS. HARDY.

GOVERNOR POWNALL TO PITT 3

Boston, March 23d 1758.

Sir,

The House of Representatives ever since the passing a Vote to raise 7000 Men, has been diligently employed in consulting upon Ways and Means to raise a Sum sufficient

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 79.

³ A. and W. I., vol. 71.

² Hardy was appointed rear admiral of the blue in 1757, and commanded the Royal William, 84 guns, in the expedition against Louisburg.

to defray the Charge of levying them, I doubt not it will be effected, although the Inhabitants for several Years past have been under a heavier burthen of Taxes than at any Time before, since the Settlement of the Colony. The People in general seem to be well spirited to enlist: An Union of the Strength of the Colonies is what they have professed earnestly to desire: And nothing will discourage me unless it be the backwardness and want of like Zeal in the other Governments. New Hampshire I'm informed do not design to raise more than 1000 Men,1 and I am told Rhode Island will not much if anything exceed that number.2 The former of these Governments have kept the Grant of Parliament for their Charge in the Expedition to Louisburgh in the Publick Funds in England, and it is said to be near equal to their present debt, The latter having their Inland Frontier entirely covered are at very little Charge except for the part they contribute to the General Service. Connecticut I have as yet received no Accounts from.3 New York have always insisted that the proportion settled at Albany,4 in which they stood compared with the Massachusetts, as four to seven, ought to be observed, and I do not wonder at their insisting on it, for they were very much favoured in it, but now to my astonishment M! de Lancey writes me that the Assembly came to a Resolution to provide for 2680 Men,⁵ which they insist is their full Proportion, according to the Number of the Inhabitants of that Province.

You see, Sir, they are making an Advantage to themselves from a particular Expression in your Letter to the Colonies without any Regard to the whole Spirit of the Letter.

If Numbers were to be a Rule, I am very certain the Albany Proportion of which they come short \(\frac{1}{3} \text{.} \) part would

¹ New Hampshire voted eight hundred men. N. H. Prov. Papers, VI. 662, 665.

² Rhode Island voted one thousand men. Col. Rec. of R. I., VI. 129.
³ Connecticut voted five thousand men. Conn. Col. Rec., XI. 93.

⁴ See note to letter of February 14, 1758.

⁵ See Jour. of Council of N.Y. (March 23, 1758), for the concurrence of the Council to the bill.

be very favourable for them. But if the Ability of the two Provinces to support the Charge be considered, that Province

will come very little if anything short of this.

The Provision Colonies have a mighty Advantage from victualling the Troops, which this Colony, not raising so much as it consumes, is wholly destitute of. The Trade of New York is in very flourishing Circumstances; The Cod and Whale Fishery, the support of the Trade of this Colony is decreased and the latter in a Manner at an end, most of the Vessels being taken by the Enemy. I was surprized to see the Alteration in the Trade of Boston from what it was when I was here three Years Ago. I have a good Estimate of the Number of Inhabitants and of the Value of the Estates of both Colonies and of the Taxes they pay, which I shall defer troubling you with at present, it not being a time to dispute about Proportion and Quotas. I have prevented anything of this Disposition in my Assembly hitherto and I hope still to do it if this extraordinary and most unreasonable Proceeding in New York does not break my Measures.

What I am most at a loss to account for is the Determination of the Lieutenant Governor of New York to adjourn the Assembly of that Province, which was to have met before my Assembly, on purpose that we might give the Lead. This Lord Loudoun wrote me from New York and Lieut: Governour De Lancey likewise acquainted me with it at Hartford. I made use of this Expression in my Speech that the People here might see how much depended on their Example. It had a good Effect with them, but I think myself very happy that they have so much Confidence in Me that they will not have the least Suspicion that I used it with an Intention to deceive them or to draw them into a disproportionate burthen, or that by their raising a large Number any other Colony might have room to suppose the less would be necessary for them to do.

If I shall find the Zeal and Resolution of the People here in any Measure to abate, I must so much the more confidently assure them, that in proportion to their exerting

themselves in His Majesty's Service they may depend on his Gracious Support and Favour.

I have the honor to be with most profound Respect Sir

Your most obed! and most humble Servant

T. POWNALL.

GOVERNOR DENNY TO PITT 1

PHILADELPHIA. 25th March. 1758.

Sir,

I do myself the Honour to acknowledge your Letters of the thirtieth of December last, by the Squirrel Man of War, and their Duplicates by Captain Durell, both which arrived last Week, and within Three days of one another.

My Message on this Occasion, to the Assembly and their Answer are published in the inclosed Gazette; I have since received a Letter from General Abercromby, demanding Six Thousand Men, as the Quota of these Three Provinces of Pensylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, which has been likewise laid before the Assembly, and I have the Pleasure to acquaint you, that a Vote has passed for raising Two thousand seven hundred Men — Five Pounds a head is allowed for Bounty Money, and Twenty Shillings to the Officer for every Voluntier,² and if the Assembly will offer such a Supply Bill as I can pass, this Province will have done their utmost. I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient Servant WILLIAM DENNY.

GOVERNOR WENTWORTH TO PITT 3

Portsmouth. 26th March 1758.

Sir.

I have had the Honor to recieve your Commands of the 30th of December last & of the 7th of Jany. His Majesty's

A. and W. I., vol. 71. Governor of Pennsylvania from 1756 to 1759.

² See Penn. Col. Rec., VIII. 53.

⁸ A. and W. I., vol. 71. Benning Wentworth was governor of New Hampshire from 1737 to 1766.

Commands therein Signifyed I recieved. With the greatest pleasure I shall with unwearied diligence Apply Myself, to

carry the same into the exactest Execution.

The ships that the Letters came by, I presume were detained by contrary winds in England, by which means the Originals did not come to my Hands until the 14th of this Instant, & the duplicates the 22nd, by which incident some time has been lost which I shall endeavour to recover by doubling my diligence in my Master's Service.

I have obtained a Grant of Eight Hundred Men, officers included for the present Expedition, but the Assembly have limited their Service to nine months, I endeavoured to get the Limitation taken off, and to have the Grant encreased to One thousand Men, but at present I have no prospect of obtaining either, but I am hoping when it is known what the Grants are, in the other Governments, the Assembly will be induced to make an Enlargement if the Service demands it.

I have no reason to doubt butthat I shall have the Regiment to be raised in this Government ready to go on Duty when the General gives orders therfor, and I should stand chargeable with Neglect of duty, if I am not particularly exact in the Appointment of the Officers, which I esteem as Essential to The Service as the Men, but the Assembly have taken part of this duty on themselves, haveing reserved the Appointment of the Chaplain Surgeon & Surgeon's Mate to a Comtee by them appointed, and although it is the greatest encroachment on the prerogative of the Crown, I shall be under a Necessity to submit to it, or defeat His Majesty's Gracious Intention in raising the Men, and as at this Critical Hour, all disputes and Controversys ought to Subside, I am hopeing I shall not Incurr His Majesty's displeasure by this or any other Condescention I may be under a Necessity to make for the good of the Common Cause.

If a Sufficient number of Arms do not Seasonably arrive, I forsee no difficulty in arming the Eight hundred men here.

At the Instance of General Abercromby I have caused a general Embargo to [be] laid on all Ships and Vessels in Port,¹ and have acquainted the General that if this Regiment should be destined to Rendezvouz Eastward, a Sufficient Number of Transports might be procured here, to Embark them, by which there would be a great Saveing to the Crown, and the Men save a tedious March of at least three hundred and fifty Miles, when I receive General Abercromby's directions, I shall punctually observe them. I am with all possible respect Sir

Your Honors most faithfull Servant

B. Wentworth.

GOVERNOR POWNALL TO PITT²

Boston, March 26th 1758.

Sir.

Since the vote which the General Court passed to raise 7000 Men for the Expedition, they form'd a Supply Bill enabling the Treasurer to Borrow 28,000 £ for the immediate Purpose of the Levy,³ and although the Government be now in debt 110,000 Pounds Sterling and altho' it must in the year 1758 raise the Sum of 73,000 £ and in the Year 1759 the Sum of 73,930 to pay of Government Securities which will then become due (the ordinary Expences of the Government being in the Meanwhile 37,500 £ Sterling per Annum exclusive of any Military operations) Yet such is the Spirit of the People, such their Confidence in the present Administration and consequently such the credit of the Government that upon the Treasurer opening his Subscription it was fill'd in 12 hours.

General Abercrombie has applyed to me for 300 of our People to go to Halifax, I will send him three Companies of one hundred each. I have also ordered the King George to convoy the first Embarkation of his Majesty's Troops which goes from hence.

3 Acts and Resolves, IV. 76. See letter of March 23.

¹ See N. H. Prov. Papers, VI. 662; also Pitt's letter to Abercromby of January 11, 1758.

² A. and W. I., vol. 71.

General Abercromby apply'd to me for Quarters for the Troops which are to march to Boston to embark. I apply'd to the Assembly to make Provision sending them the enclosed Message—I used this Form of Message as I apprehend that Quarters cannot be demanded as a Right, But on the Contrary when and where they become necessary. The Legislature makes Provision for them by a temporary Suspension of those Rights which are declared in the Bill of Rights—This Method of Application has had its Effect and I have the Pleasure to enclose the Act which they immediately passed thereon. 1...

* * * * * * *

The French and Indian Enemy have been down upon our Frontiers to the Westward, and attacked two of the Garrisons or Lodgements of Rangers which I have posted there. The Garrisons defended themselves with Steadiness and Two large Detachments from Colonel Williams and Colonel Worthington's Regiments of Militia marching up with Alacrity, the Enemy are retired—Some of our People are wounded, what their Numbers were I cannot yet learn with any certainty, but I trust they will not be able to force the Frontiers of this Province. I have the honor to be with the highest Respect Sir

Your most obedient & most humble Servant

T. POWNALL.

GENERAL AMHERST TO PITT²

HIS MAJESTY'S SHIP, VIGO, DUBLIN. March the 30th 1758. Sir,

I left Portsmouth on the 16th Instant the day after I did myself the Honour of writing to you from thence. Variety

¹ Acts and Resolves, IV. 71; and for the governor's message, p. 132.

² A. and W. I., vol. 79. Sir Jeffrey Amherst entered the Guards as ensign in 1731, and served on the staff of General Ligonier, and later on that of the Duke of Cumberland. He was made a lieutenant-colonel in 1756. In 1758 Pitt had him promoted to be major-general, and gave him command of the expedition sent to North America in that year, primarily for the conquest of Louisburg. At the successful conclusion of that exploit, Amherst

of wind and Weather brought us on the 21st twenty leagues off of Brest, 'til which time nothing material had happened; it blew very hard that morning, and, was very thick weather, the Dublin going eleven Miles an Hour, a Sail was seen laying too, which was taken for an English Man of War, but Cap! Rodney soon declared it to be an Enemy, who first hoisted English Colours, afterwards French, and when he had fired three Guns and some small Arms struck. it blew so very hard that of twenty five or thirty Guns that the Dublin fired, not one had touched him; he proved to be an East India Ship, the Monmartel of Nantes of sixteen 6 Pounders and 73 Men, from the Isles of Bourbon,1 and Maurice,2 loaded with upwards of seven hundred thousand Pounds weight of Coffee, forty thousand of Red Wood, and some private Merchandise, from the Master I have the following Intelligence. That these were Five Ships sent out by the India Company³ for the said Service, la Therese sailed eight days before him from Bourbon, Le Pacifique sailed the same day in the beginning of November, was a bad Sailer, and he lost company in four and twenty Hours, L'Emerode, and the fifth (the name he has forgot) were not arrived at the Islands but were expected with Monsieur d'Acier's Squadron, and the Master supposes, those two Ships may be leaving the Islands about this time.

He says that Eight Sail of the East India Company's Ships came from the Indies and wintered at Maurice,

was made commander-in-chief of the forces in America. He took a prominent part in the campaigns of 1759 and 1760, and was appointed governorgeneral of British North America. He returned to England in 1763, where for many years he was a prominent figure in both military and political circles. He died in 1797, covered with years and honors.

¹ Île de Bourbon, now Île de la Réunion, a French colony, in the Indian

Ocean, southwest of Mauritius.

² Probably Mauritius, formerly Île de France, in the Indian Ocean, southeast of Africa.

³ The French East India Company.

⁴ D'Aché, with a squadron of eleven sail, landed a detachment of troops under General Lally at Pondicherry, late in the April of 1758. Entick, III. 278, 282.

Monsieur d'Acier's Squadron consists of fifteen or sixteen Sail, of which the Dauphin a 60 Gun ship arrived at Maurice the 1st of October in company with him, and one Ship of twenty six Guns had arrived before that pursued its Voyage directly to the Indies, the Remainder of Mons: d'Aciers' Squadron was expected at Maurice in December, and is to Joyn the Ships that have wintered there, and the whole to sail to the Indies the later end of February or Beginning of this month: that there is but one King's Ship in the Squadron, which is of 74 Guns, and where Mons! d'Acier is as Chef d'Escadre; there are two 74 Gun Ships belonging to the Company, and in the whole fifteen or sixteen ships of the Line of Battle, the others from twenty Guns and upwards, he knows nothing of their being sickly, by the information he received from a Portuguese Ship, was told they were not so.

Captain Rodney not meeting with any of His Majesty's Ships of War, has been obliged to put in here, as the shortest Method to secure and get rid of his Prize and Prisoners, and the least retarding his voyage. I am with the greatest

Respect Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient Servant IEFF: AMHERST.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR HAMILTON TO PITT 1

PLACENTIA.2 April 5th 1758.

Sir,

I have the Honour of yours of the 30th last, with His Majesty's pleasure Relating to the Change as to the Command & several other things therein mention'd, which I shall dutifully comply with and signify the same to Major General Abercromby &c:—

The Gov! seldom arrives till June or July and tho' he's so small a time in his department, yet he does not, it seems,

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 71.

² A small fortified seaport on the southern coast of Newfoundland, founded by the French in 1662. The island was ceded to England by the treaty of Utrecht in 1713.

Communicate Every thing necessary on his departure, at least, tho' I'm the Eldest Lieut! Governor in the Island, yet His Majesty's pleasure was never Signified to me Relating to my Conduct & Obedience in regard to E. Loudoun.

I have been these 12 or 13 Years L! Gov! of Placentia or Commanding Officer to S! Johns, last year I kept a Number of French prisoners which I victualled according to His Majesty's Orders by the Secretary of State to a very great Expence, I have drawn an Order for the Same in favour of M! Charles Gould son to our late Agent & hope you'll shew him your Countenance & favour which will infinitely oblige him who is with great Respect

Sir, Your most obedient humble Servant

OTHO. HAMILTON.

GOVERNOR FITCH TO PITT 1

Norwalk, 10th April. 1758.

Sir,

Altho' the Colony of Connecticut by the Service of the three last preceding Years in which the Government hath exerted itself with so much vigour and Resolution (the general Account of which I have before transmitted) that thereby our Treasury is exhausted - our subsistence consumed, the number of our Able-bodied Men much lessened; and altho by the Inactivity of former Campaigns, and the Ill Success attending the Several Undertakings for the Preservation & Safety of the Country against the Common Enemy spirited by Important advantages gained against us; The Spirit Vigour and Resolution of the People seemed to be so much abated that under all these discouragements it appeared difficult to devise any Method to raise them to their former life and activity: Yet I am able with great Satisfaction to acquaint you that His Majesty's tender concern for the Preservation and Defence of his Subjects in these Parts of his Dominions, and his gracious Intentions to make such Vigorous Efforts and extensive Operations against the French as signified to us by your Letter of the 30th of

December 1 (wherein so noble and Important a plan is opened to view with such Encouraging and agreable Prospects) have had such a happy Influence and Effect in this Colony as to revive the low and almost Disponding Spirits of the People. The General Assembly to whom without loss of time I communicated these Matters, and recommended it to them to exert themselves according to the Importance thereof have chearfully come into a Resolve and voted to raise Five Thousand Men including officers to be imployed on this Occasion and to proceed therein under the Supreme Command of His Majesty's Commander in Chief in America.

These Five Thousand Men are to be formed into four Regiments each consisting of twelve Companies with proper Officers, in the appointment of which due regard was had to the good of the Service agreable to His Majesty's Inten-

tions signified in that particular.2

The same Spirit that appeared in the Assembly prevails also in good Measure among the Body of the People who seem to be considerably roused and Disposed to promote this Service; The Levies are making, and it is hoped the Companies will generally be full in Season to march at the time appointed unless in some Instances there should be a want of Men to Enlist by Reason our Opulent Neighbours by giving larger Bounties than this Government can at present possibly pay, should Induce our Men upon our Borders to go into the Immediate Service of other Governments; should this be the Case as it seems probable will by what has already happened it will be extreamly difficult to supply the Men in their Room as we have gone full as far as the Number of our Inhabitants will bare. and (besides great Numbers to be employed with Carriages) have voted a full proportion if not more than our proportion of Twenty Three or Four Thousand Men to be raised in the Six Northern Governments; The Number agreed to be raised here amounts to about a Fourth part of the Militia of the whole

¹ See letter of December 30, 1757. ² See Col. Rec. of Conn., XI. 93.

Government which includes all Males from Sixteen to fifty

years of age a few Exempts excepted.

I beg leave further to acquaint you that the Assembly hath come into this large (and without future help in defraying the Expence) insupportable Undertaking, in Consequence of the Great Encouragements, and relying and confiding in the Royal Assurance given of a Compensation's

being made.

It is indeed some Discouragement to us to be informed that some Governments rich and wealthy, and more immediately obnoxious to the Irruptions of the Enemy seem to be so sparing of the Numbers to be raised for this Service that notwithstanding this Colony hath so far exceeded a proportion of Twenty Thousand I fear the whole Six will not send into the Field the Number the King expected; however we encourage ourselves that the Army will be so strong and so well directed that by the Smiles of Heaven on this great Enterprize we hope this Years Operations will be to the Honour of the British Arms, and a happy means of Deliverance from the Dangers impending on this Land.

I am Sir with the highest Esteem your most obedient

and most humble Servant -

Тно⁵ Fітсн.

GOVERNOR POWNALL TO PITT 1

Boston, April 22d 1758.

Sir,

I have the Pleasure to acquaint you that on the 15th of this Month I have rais'd by enlistment 4460 Men of the 7000 voted by this Province. Could I have been admitted to have gone with them myself I should have had the whole by this Time by Enlistment. When I made my Offer of Service, I offer'd at the same time to remove all Difficulty about Rank and to acquiesce in any thing for the Good of the Service. My Offer could not be comply'd with however though it may have discouraged somewhat the Enlistments & so conse-

quently somewhat delay'd the compleating the whole—Yet I have the Pleasure Sir to acquaint you that my General Court have by a Vote¹ enabled me to compleat them by Impress by a Draught from the Regiments of Militia which will be of every fourth Freeholder training in this Province. an Instance I believe scarce ever known before in any Government and I shall have the whole compleated by the 2.d of May. Those that are now compleat I shall send off as soon as I can get them arm'd. I have got finish'd the 200 large Whale Boats & sent them off to New York.

Sensible of the unworthiness of my best Services, I humbly beg your favourable Representation of them to his Majesty.

I have the honor to be Sir,

Your most devoted & most Humble Servant
T. Pownall.

GOVERNOR WENTWORTH TO PITT²

Portsmouth 23d April 1758.

Sir,

Esteeming it my Duty to Acquaint your Honor, of the Progress I have made in Levying the Men to be raised in this Government, in Consequence of His Majesty's Commands to act in Conjunction with His Regular Troops, and the forces raised in the respective Northern Colonys in an expedition against Canada I have the Satisfaction to inform you, that notwithstanding the great number of Rangers & Battlemen drafted out of New Hampshire, and now in actual Service, in less than thirty days, I levyed the Eight hundred Men—granted by the Assembly, which I am hopeing to get ready to march next week to Fort Edward, the place of General Rendezvous appointed by General Abercromby.

* * * * * * * *

I am Sir,

Your Honors most faithful Servant

B. Wentworth.

1 See Acts and Resolves, IV. 86.

² A. and W. I., vol. 71.

GENERAL ABERCROMBY TO PITT 1

New York, April 28th 1758.

Sir,

By the enclosed Duplicate of my last Letter of the 16th March,² I had the Honor to acquaint you, with the Steps I had pursued, in obedience to His Majesty's Commands. . . .

I am therefore now to acquaint you, with the further Progress that has been made in them, as far as the same has come to my Knowledge; in which, I shall begin by the Northern Governments.

New York, by Impress, has near compleated the 2680 Men, I mention'd in my last they had voted, and I hope, they

will soon be ready to move up into the Back Country.

I had no answer, from the Jerseys, till the 1st of this Month, when, by a Letter of the preceding Day, from the President of the Council,3 he acquaints me, that their Assembly had voted their Regiment to be recruited to 1000 Men, which he shou'd endeavour to compleat by the speediest Methods in His Power: Knowing this Number to be far short of their Abilities, and fearing it might slacken the Ardour of the other Colonies, who are but too apt to seize upon every Precedent that may Countenance their burthening the Mother Country, and exempting themselves, I cou'd not help representing to Him, in my Reply, that His Majesty wou'd very justly expect a stronger Exertion of their Abilities on this critical & urgent Occasion; . . . The Numbers voted by Connecticut, Officers included, amount to 5000, but how far they have succeeded in raising them, the Governor has not yet acquainted me; by Publick Report, their Levies meet with no Difficulties, and it is thought they will be able to compleat them. -

Your letter of the 30th of December, having, on the 13th of March, been laid before the General Assembly, of the Colony

A. and W. I., vol. 87.

³ John Reading, a prominent member of the Society of Friends, who as senior member of the council, assumed the duties of governor for about ten months, pending the arrival of Governor Bernard.

of Rhode Island, they came to a Resolution to raise 1000 Effective Men; ¹ on the 20th, the Officers were all appointed, and they were beginning to raise their Men, which they were to endeavour to compleat with the utmost Dispatch. — The Reasons given by the Governor, for their voting no more than 1000, are, that the whole Number able to bear Arms in that Colony, do not exceed 6000, and that one Thousand of them were then absent from the Colony, in Private Vessels of War. . . .

Out of the 7000, which I acquainted you by my last, the Province of the Massachusetts Bay had voted, I find by a Letter from Governor Pownall, of the 22nd Instant, that by the 15th of the said Month, they had raised 4796; and that from his having been so fortunate, as to obtain a vote of the General Court, enabling him to compleat the whole by Impress, by Drafts from the Militia Regiments, he hoped to have the whole compleated by the 2^d of May: He further tells me, that as none of the Regiments were then under 600, and that he thinks it of the utmost Consequence, that I shou'd be supplied with a large Force at Fort Edward, as soon as possible, he wou'd give Directions for these to march directly to me, as soon as they can be arm'd and supplied with Necessaries, which I have since desired him to do.

New Hampshire, by the Governor's Letter of the 24th March, had only voted 800 Men,² but he therein tells me, that he was using all Diligence to procure an Enlargement of the Vote to 1000, which I strongly recommended to him in my Answer; Yet, by his Reply of the 13th Instant, it seems he had not been able to carry this point with His Assembly, who alledged, that the great Drafts made from that Province for Rangers, had so drained the principal Men fit for the present Expedition, that they were apprehensive great Difficulty wou'd attend levying the 800 Men already granted; in which, Governor Wentworth says, he must confess there is some Truth; for altho', he had made a considerable Progress in compleating the 800, yet he conceived a great Number must

¹ See Col. Rec. of R.I., VI. 129.

² See N.H. Prov. Papers, VI. 659, 668.

be impressed, . . . From all which, you will see, that the whole Numbers voted by the Northern Provinces and Colonies, amount only to 17,480, which is 2520 less than was hoped wou'd (in Consequence of the strong & pressing Orders they have received to that Effect) have been ready to join in the present important Service, His Majesty has commanded me to undertake, in case it shall be found practicable. . . . Although by what preceeds, everything seems to have gone very smooth, yet I have met with several Difficulties; which took rise from the following words in your Letter; the Whole, therefore, that His Majesty expects and requires from the several Provinces, is the Levying, Cloathing and Pay of the Men; Upon the Strength of which, some of them wanted to exempt themselves, not only from furnishing their Men with Camp Necessaries, and Utensils, but in short everything, which they have been accustomed to pro-

vide. but this I have got the better on.

The next point they insisted upon, was, that as Provisions were to be issued to their Men, in the same Proportions and Manner, as is done to his Majesty's Regular Forces, it wou'd be of great Service for encouraging the Men to enlist, to have that Matter settled in such a Manner, that they might be assured of receiving their Provisions as their Pay begins (which is from the Time of their Enlistment) or if they subsist themselves, that they shou'd be paid for it, from that Period, untill they receive the King's Allowance, at the Rate of 6d Sterling p. Day, the same as is allowed by the Crown to the Contractors. Being desirous of furthering the Service to the utmost of my Power, and to avoid giving them Room to plead Want of Encouragement, I did agree, that Provisions shou'd be allowed them, from the Day of their Enlistment; but that as, before they cou'd meet at the Place of rendezvous, it wou'd be difficult, if not impracticable, to provide Stores in the many and Distant Places thro' which their Men must pass, I wou'd allow them 4d Sterle pr. Day, in Lieu of Provisions, which was what is allowed to His Majesty's Regular Forces, when on the Recruiting, or any other, Service, distant from the Places where there are established

Magazines; . . . & with it they now seem satisfied. But the greatest Difficulty of all, was about the Arms; in relation to which, I repeated to them His Majesty's Injunctions, that they shou'd, with particular Diligence, immediately collect and put into the best Condition, all such serviceable one's as cou'd be found within their Government. The Number of these, by private Information, being likely to fall very short of the Complement wanted, I found it necessary, in order to lose no Time, to insinuate to them that, . . . I wou'd engage to make good, in Money, to the Proprietors, such of those Arms as shou'd be spoiled or lost in actual Service; but this alone did not suffice, and they insisted, that I shou'd make some Allowance for the Loan of them which I absolutely rejected; and at last they were reconciled to it.

Notwithstanding all which, I am much afraid we shall be very deficient in that Article, if the Arms, you mentioned, were to be forthwith sent from England, do not soon come out; for, by my last Letters from Gov! Pownall, he had yet been able to pick up only 500. Stand, but he expected about 400. more from Nova Scotia, which, when the Troops of His Province, raised for the Beausejour Business, were dismissed, had there been taken from them; what Success the other Governments have had, I know not; and those in the King's Stores here, and at Albany are very inconsiderable, so that I have been obliged to give Orders to purchase as many as coud be found here, and at Boston; at the latter

of which Places we have got 750.

Before I quit the subject of the Northern Governments, it is necessary that I shou'd acquaint you, with the Application made to me, by the Governor of New Hampshire, in Behalf of the Men of that Province, who come under the Capitulation of Fort William Henry; 300 of which, he said, stood ready to enter into His Majesty's Service, & both Officers and Men, were in the most pressing Terms, solliciting him to permit it; alledging, that the French in many Instances had violated the Articles of Capitulation on their Part; and therefore they esteemed themselves disengaged

¹ Namely, the deportation of the inhabitants, in 1755.

from complying with their Obligation, and that they were willing to run any Risk, provided they cou'd have the Liberty to proceed in the Regiment then raising. Gov! Wentworth appeared confident, that the Capitulation had been violated by the French, and seeming only to wait my Concurrence for Complying with the above Sollicitations, I did not hesitate one Moment in giving the same.

And upon a hint of the like Nature, dropped to me from the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, a few days after, I owned what I had done in regard to New Hampshire, &

gave them the same Latitude.

I come now to the Southern Governments; . . . I have desired Brig! Forbes, to correspond with the King's Ministers, and to give them, from Time to Time, and as often as any Opportunities may offer, a full & clear Account of His Proceedings, and of all Material Points relating to His Majesty's Service.

But as it will not be possible for him to do this by the present Conveyance, . . . I will therefore now give you an

Account of it myself.

The Assembly of Virginia, by M! Blair's Letter to Brigt Forbes, of the 9th Inst, have framed a Bill to augment their Forces to two Regiments of 1000 each, and to garrison their Forts with their Militia, which, with their Rangers, he, M! Blair, hopes, may guard their Frontiers in the Absence of the two Regiments. He at the same time, acquaints Brigadier Forbes, that they will want 1000 Arms, and begs his Assistance. Brigadier Forbes having applied to me for them, and I not being able to supply them with any, for the Reasons before given, I advised him to attempt putting in Practice, the Method I had observed with the Northern Governments, of which I gave him a full Account; but that, if he should not succeed therein, he must purchase Arms, as the Business was not to stand still for want of them.

As you are not unacquainted with the Refractoriness of the Assembly of Maryland, several Instances of which have been transmitted to His Majesty's Ministers by my Predecessor, I shall not here take up your Time with a Repetition of

them; but for your further Information, I send you enclosed, Copies of M. Sharpe's Letter to me, Lord Loudoun's to him, and my Answer to the former; . . . I find, that in their Addresses to the Governor, of the 30th of last Month, published in the publick Prints, they promise very fair.

So early as the 24th of March, the Assembly of Pensylvania, came to a Resolution to raise 2700 Men, Officers included; of which Governor Denny gave me immediate Notice, but observed at the same time, that unless they passed a Supply Bill, His Hands were as much tied as if they had made no Resolves at all; the Truth of which we have Experienced; for, from that Time, till the 22nd Inst, when they passed a Bill, granting £100,000. to His Majesty's Use, nothing has been done; this Delay, was occasion'd thro' the unhappy Disputes, that have so long subsisted, between the Proprietaries & the Assembly of that Province, which you are no Stranger to, and therefore I shall not take up your Time with them.

The Lower-County-Assembly, which, Gov! Denny says, have always behaved well, and particularly so on this Occasion, have granted a Supply of £8000, which, together with the £2300, remaining unexpended of the sums theretofore raised for the King's Use, are all appropriated for the Service of the ensuing Campaign, & they have unanimously agreed, to raise three Companies of 100. each, Officers included.

Lord Loudoun having informed you, of the Steps he had taken, to procure 500, or more Cherokees, to join His Majesty's Forces at Winchester, to act in Conjunction with them, against His Majesty's Enemies to the Southward, I am now to acquaint you, that by a Letter from Governor Lyttleton, of South Carolina, bearing date the 21st of March, M! Byrd,⁴ arrived there the 10th; and M! Atkin,⁴ being then absent, he, Gov! Lyttleton, & M! Byrd concerted Measures, relative to this Affair, . . . Meanwhile, it is Necessary, that I

¹ Probably that printed in *Md. Arch.*, IX. 156. Loudoun's letter, referred to above, is not given; nor is Abercromby's reply, but see that of Sharpe to Forbes, *Ibid.*, p. 162.

² See letter of March 25, 1758.

Sharpe to Forbes, *Ibid.*, p. 162. ² See letter of March 25, 1758. ³ That of the three Delaware "territories," Kent, Newcastle, and Sussex counties.

⁴ See note to letter of February 14, 1758.

shou'd acquaint you, that all the Troops, destined for Halifax, have been embarked at Boston, Philadelphia & here; that those from Boston sailed the 22dd Inst, under Convoy of the Province Sloop, those from Philadelphia, three days ago, under Convoy of His Majesty's Ship the Scarborough, and the Squirrel & Beaver Sloops; and those from hence, are fallen down to the Hook, from whence they expect to proceed tomorrow, under Convoy of Commodore Durell, in His Majesty's Ship the Diana, the Devonshire Man of War, the Gramont Frigate, and the Hind Hunter & Tylow Sloops: - The Transports from this Port, have on board, the 17th and 22d Regts, the Detachment of the Artillery, the Battering Train, and Ordnance Stores, and the Hospital; those from Philadelphia, Carry the 35th the 48th, and the 2nd Battalion of the 60th; -The 3d Battalion of Americans, with Fraser's Highlanders, & its three Additional Companies, went from Boston; . . .

Col? Messerve, with Ninety Carpenters, and Four Companies of Rangers, of 125 Men each, likewise embarked at

Boston, and have been some time arrived at Halifax.

By the Gramont Frigate, which arrived here the 22d, I was honor'd with your two Letters of the 27th of Janu-

ary,² . .

The following Day, arrived likewise the Devonshire, with the Hind Hunter & Tylow Sloops, the Respect Snow with Naval Stores for Halifax, and 32. Sail of Light Transports; by whom I expected to have received the Ordnance Stores for New York, and the Southern Department, together with the Arms and Tents for the Use of the Provincial Forces, but I do not find, they have brought any Thing but 25. Bales of Hospital Bedding; They met with very bad Weather, and lost the Unity Brig., which was founder'd at Sea, but luckily they saved all Her Hands.

The Prince Frederick Ship of War, dismasted, arrived at Halifax the 8th Instant; as did likewise, seven Transports

with the 15th Regiment.

Col.º Bouquet,3 whom Lord Loudoun ordered here in

¹ Meserve. See note to letter of March 16, 1758.

² See letters of that date.

³ See note to letter of June 17, 1757.

February last, with the five Companies of the first Battalion of the Royal Americans, which were at South Carolina, did not arrive here till the 19th, after a tedious Passage of 24. Days.

We have no Tidings yet, of Colonel Montgomery's Battalion, altho' it is near Six Weeks ago, since I wrote to him, forthwith to repair to Philadelphia, whither I have

already sent His three Additional Companies.

After the Departure of the Packet, with my last Dispatches, I received an Account, of a Skirmish, between Capt Rogers, and a Superior party of the Enemy, on the 13th of last Month, within five Miles of Tienderoga, in which, the Captain and His Command, distinguished themselves, but for a more particular Detail thereof, I must beg leave to refer you to His own Journal.² Since that Affair, all has been pretty quiet in that Quarter, and the Preparations are carrying on at Albany with all possible Dispatch, insomuch that there are already 700 Batteaus built; which, together with Provisions and Stores, shall be sent up to Fort Edward as soon as the Roads are practicable, and the River above Albany navigable.

M: Peter Schuyler, late Colonel of the Provincial Troops of New Jersey, who was taken Prisoner at Oswego, and detained in Canada upwards of 14 Months, having in October last, obtained Leave of the Gov! of Canada, to depart on His Parole, in Order to settle His Private Affairs, (which had suffer'd considerably during His Detention,) upon Condition to return by the 10th of May next, if not sooner exchanged, did, upon his Arrival represent His Case to the Earl of Loudoun, and lately, finding that nothing had been done therein, he represented the same to me; upon which, I made an

³ See note to Colonel Schuyler's letter, addressed to Pitt, and following

this document.

¹ See note to letter of March 10, 1757.

² A party of seven hundred Canadians and Indians fell upon a force of two hundred rangers under Rogers, near the narrows of Lake George, and after killing one hundred and forty-six, took three prisoners and put the rest to flight. Rogers' Journal, quoted by Stone, Life of Johnson, II. 59, note.

Enquiry of what Prisoners were in this, and the Neighbouring Province, that cou'd be proposed as an Equivalent, not only for him but for Captain William Martin, of the Artillery; and one Mr Stakes, a Surgeon of the said Provincial Troops, who were both suffer'd to come away with Colonel Schuyler, upon the same Terms. Whilst this Enquiry was making, I received a Petition, from a Captain Corriveau & two other Canadian Prisoners, praying to be released, and exchanged for Colonel Schuyler and the Surgeon; and soon after, I was informed that there was three Cadets, one of which being the Son of Mor de Cheauvignerie, Commandant of Fort Machault, I did not hesitate to send a Proposal to Mon! Vaudreuil, to exchange these Six for our three, & acquainted him, at the same time, that as their Prisoners seemed Confident, he wou'd agree to these Terms, I had directed Ours to wait His Answer, before they returned to Canada; but as Col^o Schuyler and I, are apprehensive, that Mor Vaudreuil will not come into my Proposal, and that the Col? wants much to be discharged of His Parole, He has drawn up a Memorial, directed to His Majesty's Secretary at War, praying to be exchanged from thence, and Has desired me to forward it, which I have accordingly done by this Occasion. He has likewise applied to me, for the Reimbursement of sundry Sums of Money, advanced by Him, to his Fellow Subjects & Prisoners, during his Captivity; in Relation to which, he presented a Memorial to my Predecessor, Who was to transmit the same to you for your Directions, thereupon; as he does not know what has been done therein, he has beg'd of me, to mention the same to you, and for your further Information, to send you another Copy thereof, which I cou'd not refuse him, as he is a Person of Merit & Worth, and in Great Esteem in this Part of the World, and accordingly beg leave to trouble You with the enclosed.

I have the Honor to be, With great Respect, Sir Your most obedient & most humble Servant JAMES ABERCROMBY.

¹ Otherwise Venango, on the Alleghany river.

COLONEL PETER SCHUYLER TO PITT 1

(Abstract)

[n. d. received 1 June. 1758.]2

Regrets he has to complain of neglect with which his Captivity has been treated during Lord Loudoun's Command, "Impatient of confinement, at a Juncture in which his Country needs his best Services," he obtained Governor of Canada's leave for his return to New York, upon parole to negotiate his exchange for Canadian Prisoners. Montcalm's resolution of strict observance of Articles of Capitulation at surrender of Fort William Henry (which stipulated for discharge of all French Prisoners without exchange) makes this impracticable; he applied to Abercromby "to whose favour he owes great obligations." By his direction he has prepared a Memorial — (which he incloses) — to Lord Barrington Sec: at War; entreats for Pitt's Countenance for this Measure.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR DE LANCEY TO PITT 3

New York, 28th April 1758.

Sir,

In addition to what I wrote of the 17th of March, I have only to acquaint You, that on the 24th of last Month I gave my Assent to the Bill for raising in this Province 2680 Men, and in persuance of a clause impowering me to complete that Number by draughts, in case Volunteers sufficient did not come in by the 15th Instant, I issued Orders to have the Draughts made and they must be now full. I shall order

² The memorial sent with this letter is dated March 24, 1758.

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 87. Colonel Schuyler was a prominent citizen of New Jersey, and a member of the Schuyler connection at Albany. He was made prisoner at the reduction of Oswego in 1756, and sent to Canada. He was released on parole in the November following, and recalled to Canada in June, 1758. He returned empowered by Abercromby to treat for an exchange of prisoners, and was soon after himself exchanged for M. de Noyan. He served in the campaigns of 1759 and 1760 with Amherst, and died at his residence near Newark in 1762. See Schuyler, Colonial New York, II. 210 et seq., also Abercromby's letter of April 28, 1758.

³ A. and W. I., vol. 71. ⁴ See note to letter of March 23, 1758.

them as soon as Arms and Tents shall arrive to the Place of their Rendezvous which the General shall appoint. By the great falls of Snow in the Upper Parts of the Country and the Backwardness of the Spring, the operations in this Quarter will necessarily be somewhat retarded this year. I shall order Colonel de Lancey¹ who commands the Troops of this Province to obey the Orders he shall receive from General Abercromby or the Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces in North America.

I am with great esteem Sir

Your most obedient & most humble Servant JAMES DE LANCEY.

GENERAL FORBES TO PITT²

PHILADELPHIA. May 1st 1758.

Sir

By a Letter that I have just received from Major General Abercromby, I am directed to Correspond with you, and impart to His Majesty's Ministers the Steps that I take, and the Events following thereon, in prosecution to the Command entrusted to my Care, that no Time may be lost in informing His Majesty of the progress of His Affairs in the Southern

Collonys.

I received General Abercromby's Commands upon the fourteenth of last Month, ordering me to repair from New York to Philadelphia, and there to endeavour to reconceal Matters between the Governour and Assembly, in order to the passing of a Bill of one hundred thousand pounds for His Majesty's use, and Service of this Campaign. The Bill after various Altercations was at last agreed to, and passed upon the 26th of last Month; and the Provincial Troops were order'd to be augmented to two thousand seven hundred Men.

¹ Oliver de Lancey, under whom the New York provincials served in the Lake George campaigns of 1756 and 1758. He was a prominent member of the council from 1760 to the Revolution, when he took the part of the Crown, raised a corps known as the De Lancey battalions, and was made brigadier-general. He died in England in 1785.

A. and W. I., vol. 87. See note to letter of Pitt to General Abercromby,

December 30, 1757.

They have just now began to raise their Men by naming their Officers &c²: a few days will shew what Success the Recruiting Officers meet with; But everything except fresh Disputes which arise every day, goes on very slowly, but I have and shall do everything in my power to quell them.

The three lower Countys are raising three hundred Men, which I have reason to expect will be soon compleated.¹

The Province of Maryland have been extremely dilatory in their proceedings, nor do I yet find, that they have come to any Resolution about granting Supplys. At the end of last Year they voted their Troops (consisting of three hundred Men) shou'd be disbanded, by which Fort Cumberland and that back Country must have fallen into the Enemy's Hands. But the Earl of Loudoun gave assurances to Governour Sharpe, that rather than these Men shou'd be disbanded his Lord wou'd make good the Expences of keeping them up. In this Situation these Troops have been these four or five Months; and as General Abercromby seems averse at present to have that Expence fall upon the Crown, I can have but very little dependance of Maryland doing any Good for the Service; even altho' they grant Eighty thousand Pounds for His Majesty's Use, twenty five or thirty thousand Pounds of which will be appropriated for their long Sessions of Assembly, and great part of the Remainder consumed in the pay and Arrears due to their Troops.2

The Province of Virginia have voted to augment their Troops to two thousand Men, and are to garrison their forts and Frontiers with their Militia.³ But I doubt much if that Province will be able to raise that Number of Men, altho' they give ten pounds enlisting money. The Regiment that they have on foot amounts at present to eight hundred Men, but I may venture to say, that they will not be able to raise four hundred Men more, and if they shou'd draft their Militia to compleat the two thousand Men, these Men will not stay

¹ The Delaware "territories."

² See letter of April 28, 1758, and note.

³ See letter of June 11, 1758, wherein Fauquier says that the colony had raised two thousand men.

eight days with us. There is nothing expected from the Carolinas, It was impossible to bring the three Independent Companies of South Carolina this way; as they are stationed at the Forts in the Indian Country at the back of Georgia.

The Regular Forces destined for the Operations upon the frontiers of the Southern Provinces and the Ohio, are thirteen Companys of Montgomery's Highlanders, and four Companys of the first Battalion of the Royal American Regiment. The ten Companys of the former are not yet arrived from South Carolina. The three additional Companys who are in this Province, have one third sick, and the remainder have not yet recovered strength enough for Service, occasioned by their long passage from Britain. The four Companies of the first Battalion of Americans are got to this Place, they are sickly, being just arrived from South Carolina, and they want fifty Men to compleat them, which will be impracticable to fill up, as the Provinces are giving so high Bountys for raising the Men they are to furnish during this Campaign . . The Cherokee and Catauba Indians have been fully as good as their Promise, in coming in at different times from their own Country for these two or three Months by past, to Winchester in Virginia,2 the place of their Rendez-vous. Their Numbers already come, are Six hundred and fifty two, and several more are expected, and are actually upon their March. As they are almost naked, and without Arms, I have left no Means untryed to provide them in both and have so far succeeded that I have now scouting Partys to the Amount of four hundred of them (all equipt for War) who are gone upon the Ohio, above and below Fort Duquesne, in order to annoy the Enemy, gett Intelligence, and bring away some Prisoners if possible. As fast as the rest can be equipt they shall go out upon the same Errand. For as our greatest Dependance is upon them, and they capable of being led away upon any Caprice or whime that seizes them, I am

¹ See letter of May 7, 1758.

² In the Shenandoah valley, near the Pennsylvania border. The Cherokee Indians dwelt in the lower Ohio valley. They proved troublesome allies, as later letters show.

obliged by every Artifice to amuse them from returning home, they being rather offended at not seeing our Army and Artillery assembled, which I am afraid they had reason to expect. However, I propose getting Governour Sharpe and an officer from this to go amongst them to keep up their Spirits, by constant Employment, altho' that may be difficult to do, without equiping them for War; which equipment for one thousand Indians amounts to the Value of Eight thousand Pounds, and many of the things not to be gott in

America, especially light Arms.

In the mean time until the Troops arrive from South Carolina, the Artillery and Stores from England, and that the Provincial Forces are raised and collected at their different Rendez-vous: I shall be preparing the Magazines, and moving them up fifty or sixty Miles beyond the inhabited parts of this Province, that no Stop may be made for want of that Material Article provision. . . . I had the Honour of your Letter (dated at Whitehall Janry the 27th) the 24th of last Month, with a Letter for Governour Lyttleton. I executed the Orders it contained by writing directly to Colonel Montgomery 2 I shall take care that he be immediately acquainted with its contents upon his arrival here. . . . I beg leave to assure you that no diligence or application of mine shall ever be wanting to help forward the Service to the utmost of my Power.

I am Sir, with the greatest Regard and Respect Your most obedient and most humble Servant Io: Forbes.

GOVERNOR POPPLE TO PITT³

(Abstract)

BERMUDA. 5. May 1758.

Stating that there is a Report that the French have designs upon the Islands, that he has "acquainted the Board

² See note to letter of June 25, 1760.

¹ See letter of that date.
² See note to letter of June 25, 1760.
³ A. and W. I., vol. 71. William Popple, the dramatist, who was clerk of the reports to the commissioners of trade and plantations from 1737 to 1745. In that year he was appointed governor of the Bermudas and held that post until shortly before his death in February, 1764. He wrote two

therewith, who considering how much we are exposed to the Depredations of French Privateers and how liable we are to be taken by a very small force of the Enemy . . . renewed their request "that he would lay the case before the King—& write to the Com^{der} in Chief of H.M. Forces in N. America.

GOVERNOR POWNALL TO PITT 1

Boston. Castle William. May 7. 58.

Sir,

In addition to what I had the honor to acquaint you of in my Letter of April 22 ² as to my compleating my Levy of 7000 Men I have now the further pleasure to say, as to the Manner of raising them, that I have broke thro' the old & inveterate Custom of the Provincials in suffering the Officers to sell slops,³ which has been hitherto the ruin and disgrace of all our troops. I have thro' a Confidence the General Assembly of this Province are pleas'd to repose in me, been able also to putt an end to all Committees and Commissaries of Warr which has been alway an unwarrantable encroachment upon the Crown & a perpetual Clog delay and obstruction to his Majesty's Service.

Tho' my Assembly made Provision for seven Regts only of 1,000 Men each yet out of the whole I have form'd a Regiment of Light Infantry or Rangers of Picked Men, to consist of 500, which will be more than equall to any of the other Regts in point of Service, over and above what was required I have been fortunate to induce my Assembly to provide Transports and Carriages to the Rendezvous: Camp Necessaries: & Medicin Chests. The Levies are compleat, some difficulties in the Sea-coast and fishing towns excepted. Are under Marching Orders, and I shall order them to march as soon as the Contractor for Provisions

comedies of good reputation and a number of minor plays and pamphlets. Dict. of Nat. Biog.

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 71. ² See letter of that date.

³ The term is usually applied to second-hand clothing. In the British navy it is used to designate the uniforms provided by the government.

acquaints me that his Magazines are ready. I am Sir with all Duty & Attachment

Your most obed! and most humble Servant

T. Pownall.

GOVERNOR DOBBS TO PITT1

Sir, New Bern. 7th May 1758

I rec^d the Honour of yours of the 16th of September last ² about the Complaints of the Spaniards, the Contents of which I shall observe. I have also rec^d yours of the 30th of Dec^f and 7th of Jan^g, acquainting me with our loss of the Princess Caroline and of the recalling of Lord Loudoun and appointing Gen! Abercrombie in his Command, and of Brigg Gen! Forbes to command under him in the Southern Provinces, and his Majesty's Commands to procure all the Aid we can give from this Province to join in the Operations under Brigg Forbes and the great supplies which he has been pleased to send to secure the future peace, Safety and Happiness of his American Dominions.

These Letters and Orders did not come to my hands until the 13th of April - I instantly issued a Proclamation for the Council and Assembly to meet the 25th ult. but as the Members are far dispersed we could not make up a Number till the 28th, and they have done all this poor Province cou'd do on so short a Notice. We passed an Aid Bill in 8 days to make up the 3 Companies we had on Foot here of 50 Men 100 Each,3 so as to send 300 to join General Forbes, and gave £10 Bounty to each able Volunteer to send them with Dispatch, and have raised 50 more in 2 Companies to defend the Forts on the Sea Coast. I have engaged a Sloop to carry 2 Company's immediately to Potomac River in Virginia, with what additional Men they can raise, and to leave 3 additional Officers to raise and follow them as soon as possible, and the 3^d Company is to march immediately from our Western Frontier by Land to Winchester 4 in Virginia to join the

A. and W. I., vol. 71. Printed in Col. Rec. of N.C., V. 934.

² See letter of that date. ³ See Col. Rec. of N.C., V. 1003, 1010.

⁴ See note to letter of May 1, 1758.

others, having commissioned a Major to Command them, but the Misfortune of this Province is that we have no Cash; our paper Currency at great Discount, and though we can raise and pay Men in the Province, yet we have no Credit to pay them out of the Province even at 50 p. cent loss — so that I have been obliged to write to Brig. Gen! Forbes to Credit them in their pay, and to reimburse himself out of the Dividend we are to have out of the £50,000 granted by Parliament to the Southern Provinces.

You may be assured I shall use my utmost Endeavours in promoting the Glorious Cause we are embarked in of securing the Religious and Civil Liberties of Britain and these Colonies, and to get rid at once of our inveterate insatiable Enemies. . . . I enclose to you my Speech and the

Addresses, and am with great Respect Sir,

your most obedient and most humble Servant

Arthur Dobbs.

GENERAL LAWRENCE TO PITT 1

(Abstract)

HALIFAX 9 May, 1758

Acknowledges receipt of Pitt's order for holding Courts-Martial; also Pitt's packet addressed to Ed: Whitmore Esq. Brig! General of forces,² to be opened on his Arrival at Halifax... which he will deliver to him on his arrival. Since Col: Bastide's ³ Arrival, Hopson has been preparing the Fascines, Gabions &c. for Expedition. Until Amherst or Whitmore arrives he will conduct all military operations, as Hopson has received permission to return to England. He will be indefatigable in his Command meanwhile.

Amherst's, Otway's, Webb's, Lawrence's, Monckton's and Fraser's Regiments are arrived here, with the Detachment of Artillery from England, about 500 Rangers & 90

Carpenters; those from N. York hourly expected.

² See note to letter of January 27, 1758.

A. and W. I., vol. 79. See note to letter of January 27, 1758.

³ John Bastide was the royal engineer, stationed at Annapolis.

ADMIRAL BOSCAWEN TO PITT1

NAMUR IN HALIFAX HARBOUR. 10th May. 1758.

Sir,

Roy! William.
Namur.
Pr. Amelia
Bedford
Burford
Lancaster
Pembroke
Prince of Orange.
Nottingham
Shannon
Ætna
Lightning.

I anchor'd here yesterday with the Ships as in Margin, the Crews of the Princess Amelia, Burford, Pembroke & Prince of Orange are very sickly which is not uncommon after so long a Passage. As soon as we have compleated the Water of the Squadron I will sail with them to join Sir Charles Hardy who is Cruizing near Louisbourg (leaving Orders for the others to follow as soon as they can). . . .

from New York, those from New England and Philadelphia are arrived as well as Amherst's from England, all healthy & in good Condition, for particulars I refer you to Major General Hopson & Brigadier General Lawrence who

both write by this Conveyance.

The Six Ordnance Transports are also safe arrived from England; I am apprehensive we shall be disappointed as to the Numbers, tho' I think we shall have sufficient to carry the first part of His Majesty's Orders into Execution. So soon as I am joined by the Frigates from New York, I will make a Detachment into the River S! Lawrence.

I have no Account of the Regiment from Ireland. I am Sir

Your most Obedient and humble Servant

E. Boscawen.

GOVERNOR SHARPE TO PITT 2

Annapolis. 18th of May 1758-

Sr

In the Letter which I did myself the Honour to write the 16th of March I told you that the Assembly of this Province was to meet the 23^d of that Month, that I would then communicate to them the Contents of your Letter dated the 30th

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 79.

² A. and W. I., vol. 71. Printed in Md. Arch., IX. 185.

of Decrlast & press them in the most earnest manner to raise a Sum of money & furnish their Quota of Troops for the Service of the ensuing Campaign. I am now to inform you that our Assembly met a few Days after the time appointed & before the End of April the Gentlemen who composed the Lower House of Assembly offered those of the Upper a Bill for raising the Sum of £45000 Pounds Currency & for appropriating Part of it to support 1000 men to act in Conjunction with such other Forces as might be employed this Summer under the Command of Brigadier General Forbes, but I am sorry to say it was such a Bill as the Gentlemen of the Upper House had twice before refused because they were of opinion that the Mode of Taxation by which the Bill proposed to raise the money was unconstitutional & unjust & that it would if 'twas admitted most sensibly affect if not entirely destroy the Credit of the Province. Several Messages passing between the two Houses thereupon, the Session was protracted to the 13th Inst. The Gentli of the Lower House had addressed themselves to me two Days before & desired me to prorogue them having previously resolved that the Upper House by declining to pass the Bill which had been offered them had in fact refused to grant any Supplies for His Majestys Service, as if it had been absolutely impossible to raise a Sum of money here by any other method besides that proposed by the Bill above mentioned, notwithstanding that was an entire new one & extreemly different from any mode of Taxation that has ever been used in this Province. Instead of proroguing the Assembly immediately agreeable to the Gentlemen's Request I addressed myself to both Houses & intreating them to wave all Disputes at such a time so exceedingly unseasonable I prevailed with them to agree to a Conference, by which measure I hoped the two Houses might be brought to some Agreement; in this however I was disappointed for althothe Gentⁿ of the Lower House nominated Conferees yet they not only restrained them from accepting the Propositions which were made by those which the Upper House had ap-

¹ See letter of that date.

pointed, but moreover forbad them to make any Propositions themselves. On the 13th Inst they addressed me once more as hath been already hinted to put an End to the Session which as it could answer no good Purpose to detain them after such a Proceeding & after they had formally Resolved that they would not proceed on any new Business I accordingly did. Upon my advising Brigadier Forbes of the Event & desiring him to provide for the Safety of Fort Cumberland where most of the Maryland Troops whose number is about 350 were in Garrison (& where they have continued ever since the 8th of Octr last without Pay in Expectation that the Assembly would at this time raise Money to pay them) he proposes to advance a Sum of Money on the Credit of the Province to encourage them to keep together till the End of the Campaign in hopes that the Assembly will at their next Session be prevailed on to repay what he shall so advance & likewise provide for their farther Support. As soon as those of them that are at Fort Frederick 2 & on our Frontiers receive orders to march westward which I expect they will in about three weeks, I shall proceed to that Fort with two Companies of Militia & use my best Endeavours to protect our Frontier Inhabitants with them during the Continuance of the Expedition — As a particular account of the many objections that the Gent" of our Upper House of Assembly made to the Supply Bill which was offered them & of what the other Gentlemen urged in Support of it could not be well comprized within the Bounds of a Letter, I have declined entering into a Detail of them, but I have transmitted a Copy of the Bill together with all the Proceedings of the two Houses of Assembly thereupon to the Lord Proprietary that in case you shall be pleased to call for them or to require a more particular Account of the Proceedings of our Assembly on this occasion they may be ready to be laid before you.3 We are told by some Cherokee Indians that have been lately

¹ See Forbes's letter of May 1, 1758.

² See note to letter of February 23, 1757.

³ Sharpe's letters to Lord Baltimore and to Calvert are in Md. Arch., IX. 177, 179.

in Sight of Fort Du Quesne that the Number of the Enemy there at this time does not exceed four or five hundred, most of whom go over the Ohio every Day & are employed on a work that the French are building on the western Side of the River about half a mile from their old Fort.

[No signature.]

GENERAL FORBES TO PITT 1

PHILADELPHIA. May 19th 1758.

Sir

I did myself the Honour of writing to you the first of this Month giving you a state of the Millitary affairs in the Southern Provinces at that time.² There has little occurred since only I find that this Province begins to complain that the £100,000 voted for the Service of the Year is mostly expended already, owing to one half of that same being appropriated to clear the Arrears due to their Troops and other demands by which in reality they have only given £50,000 for the Service of this Year.

The striking of their Paper Money has taken up so much time that they had not got £10,000 five days ago. So you see Sir those tardy Proceedings will greatly distress our active operations; however I am still in hopes of getting about 1000 of their Men together (including those that they had on foot) by the 1st of June; But when the rest will be got I can scarce form any Judgement.

The Maryland Assembly have as yet come to no determination, and are in the same situation that I had the honour to acquaint you off, but from some quickening letters that I have lately wrote to that Province³ I flatter myself they will at least keep the 300 Men now on their pay for this Season and

more I scarcely can expect.

The Virginians are going on slowly in compleating their Quota to the 2000 Men that they have agreed to raise, and I shall be well pleased if I get a few more than half their Num-

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 87.

² See letter of that date.

³ See Forbes's letters of May 2 to Sharpe, and the governor's reply.

Md. Arch., IX. 174, 175, 181.

ber by the 1st of June. Colonel Montgomery's Battalion is not yet come from Carolina, altho' by the last Account I have reason to believe they may be embarking there by this time.

I have therefore marched the three additional Companies of that Battalion, and the 4 Companys of Col? Stanwix's Battalion into the Back Country, to protect the frontiers untill Col? Montgomery's Battalion arrive, and the new Levies come in.

I am sorry to acquaint you that the Cherokee Indians who have been out upon several scouting party's, and with some Success, begin to weary, and languish after their own homes, complaining that they see no appearance of our Army.

Hitherto I have had the good fortune to amuse them, and keep them from returning, by promises, and presents, but how long I shall be able to continue them with us I cannot

say.

But as they are by far the greatest body of Indians that we have ever had to join us, (they being above 700 Men) I thought it my duty to do everything in my power to continue them with us. For which reason I was obliged to purchase the necessarys for equipping of them for Warr, and for presents to them, through this, and all the other Colonies, where such goods and Arms, were to be found. I did imagine that I shou'd have had the Assistance of Sir William Johnston, and of Mr Atkins in the Manadgement of those Indians, Being informed that those Gentlemen are solely to superintend Indian Affairs, exclusive of any other Person.

But as S! William continued at his Settlement 500 Miles North of this, and M! Atkins remained at Charlestown 1000 Miles to the South, I found myself obliged either to act as I have done or must have seen those Indians return to their own Country disgusted, and probably ready to join the Enemy against us. And even notwithstanding the dilligence I have used in amassing those Goods, there is one Warrior and thirty

¹ See Fauquier's letter of June 11, 1758.

² See note to letter of February 14, 1758.

of his tribe have left us, and another Warriour was actually sett out upon his return, but by sending some Intelligent people after him, have persuaded him and his followers to come back.

So you must easily see, how difficult a task it is, to keep so

capricious a sett of people anyways steady.1

I have applied to this Province for their Aid and Assistance in furnishing me with Interpreters, Conductors, and such a proportion of presents for the Indians, as they should judge wou'd fall to their Share, considering that S? Carolina and Virginia had both contributed largely, but the Governor has been told by the provinciall Commissioners, that they had no Money, and consequently could allow nothing for that so necessary Service. So that I foresee the whole Expence of the Indians will (in spite of what I can do) fall upon the Crown. I should therefore be extreamly Happy to find what I have hitherto done approved of by His Majesty with Orders how I am to proceed and conduct myself for the future.

As the Artillery, Arms, Tents &ca destined for the Service in the Southern Provinces are not yet arrived, nor any Accounts of them, I have been obliged to scrape together some Guns of different Calibres from different places, with all the Ammunition - and three Royal Howbitzers that I have got cast here, in order to form a train, which, with the Assistance of an Officer and nine Men of our own train, that General Abercromby has been so good as to send me, and what I can pick out from among the Provincialls, I hope in some Measure to be able to supply the Disappointment of the Store Ship, and Artillery Men. Having bought and borrowed a good many Firelocks, and provided 300 Tents, which in warm weather must serve them all, as every Man has a Blankett. I have now on the back Frontiers of this Province three Months Provisions for 6000 Men, and I am just entering into a contract for a sufficient number of Waggons and Pack-horses for the transportation of it from

¹ See note to letter of May 1, on the Cherokees.

one deposite to another, as soon as the troops can be brought up and pushed forward to prepare those stockaded deposites

for the reception of the provisions and stores.

I shall lose no time in getting everything in readyness to move forward, as by that Means I may facilitate General Abercromby's operation, by preventing the West Country Indians from going to join the Canadians upon Lake George.

As I have severall people out for Intelligence I hope in a short time to inform you of the Enemy's Strength, and my Generall plan for annoying the Enemy, and shall by the first opportunity, send you a Draught of the Country, with the march I intend to make.

I am S! with the greatest respect & regard Y! most ob! & most hum! Serv!

Jo: Forbes.

GENERAL ABERCROMBY TO PITT 1

ALBANY. May 22d 1758.

Sir,

I must resume my narrative of Provincial Affairs. . . . New York has since compleated her Levies, four of their Companies came away at the same Time with me, and are arrived; the Remainder, I am told, are in Motion, so that

we may expect them all in here soon.

The 2^d Instant, I received a Letter from the President of the Council of the Jerseys, acquainting me, that their Regiment was compleat, and the Necessaries, with which the Colony is to furnish them, in great Forwardness; but that he had not been able to find any Firelocks among them, and therefore entreated, I wou'd furnish their Regiment with Royal Arms; . . . I wrote him my Sentiments thereupon & repeated to Him His Majesty's Orders . . . and that I wou'd make up the Deficiency out of the Royal Arms. And that as their Regiment was compleated, and the Necessaries with which the Colony was to furnish them, were in such great Forwardness, I desired he wou'd hasten their Equipment,

and forthwith order them to Albany, the Place of Rendezvous; but from that Time to this I have not heard from

Mr President Reading.

Having been informed, by one of the Assembly Men of the Colony of Connecticut, that their Levies went on but slow, and that there was no Likelihoods of their compleating them, unless their Assembly wou'd follow the Example, of some of the other Governments, in passing an Act for impressing Men out of their Militia, I immediately wrote to Gov! Fitch, recommending this Measure to him. . . . Meanwhile, I have since directed him, to order such of the Troops of His Colony, as were already raised, to join me forthwith. . . . The Gov! of the Massachusetts Bay last Letter to me, is of the 7th Instant, by which he acquaints me, that he will issue Orders to the Regiments to March; . . . He further tells me, that tho' the General Assembly made Provision for Seven Regiments only, yet out of the 7000, he has formed a Battalion of light Infantry or Rangers, to consist of 500 Men, to be commanded by Col? Oliver Partridge,1 one of the very first Men of that Country, whose Character, & the Service he may be of to me, in dealing with their People, he will make me acquainted with. This is not the only Good Thing Gov! Pownall has exerted himself in upon this Occasion; He has entirely abolished from among the Troops of His Province, the prevailing Custom of every Captain being a Slopseller, & Suttler, which proved not only a Disgrace but ruin to the Provincial Troops; and in Order that the Men might be properly supplied with every Thing, he has directed, that each Regiment, upon it's own Credit, buy a certain Quantity of Necessaries, & fix a certain Price on them, & that they be deliver'd over to the Quarter Master, to issue them as they may be wanted; He has also appointed a Suttler to each Regiment; wherefore he begs of me to call a Court Martial, & break every Officer who shall be convicted of Suttling; He has likewise put an entire Stop to all Committees and Commissaries of War,

¹ Colonel Partridge was one of the prominent men of western Massachusetts.

which formerly were so many Clogs Delays and Obstructions to the Service; in short, he has made several other wise and necessary Regulations, for the better Management of their Troops, for which I cannot sufficiently commend him, & therefore in Justice to him, I cou'd not pass them in Silence.

I am sorry to tell you that I am under the greatest Difficulties imaginable for want of Arms; not only by Reason of the real Want, of them, but because the Provinces, knowing my Distress make a Handle of it, to retard their Troops from joining me, alledging that Men without Arms can be of no Service; wherefore I have been obliged to direct them to impress Arms; but how far they will comply with this so necessary & unavoidable Measure, I will not venture to say, . . those we have been able to get by Purchase at Boston & New York amount to a very inconsiderable Number.

* * * * * * *

And now I shall proceed with the Detail of what I have done, since my last, prior to my Departure for this Place.—

The first thing I did was to move up the four New York Independent Companies, which, for the better recruiting of

them, had been quarter'd to the Southward.

After that followed the 44th, Major General Abercromby's Regiment, from the Jerseys, in the Sloops that had brought

down the 17th & 22nd Regiments from Albany.

Next to them I embarked nine Companies of the 4th Battalion of Royal Americans, that had been in Garrison at New York during the Winter, and cou'd not be removed any sooner, by Reason of their having been daily employed as Labourers, in embarking the Battering Train, artillery Stores &c for Halifax, which has been a great saving to the publick, . . .

Upon Major Tullcken's Arrival, with the six Companies of the 1st Battalion of Royal Americans, at Elizabeth Town in the Jerseys, from Lancaster, I Embarked them also for this Place, where they landed about the same time with me.

All the other Corps, destined for the Operations of this Quarter, viz! the 27th Lord Blakeneys, the 42th Lord John Murray's, the 46th Lieut. General Thomas Murray's, & the 55th Lord Howe's, had remained at Fort Edward, the several Posts on the Mohawk River, Schenactady, and this Place the whole Winter.

Before I quitted New York, I sent Directions to Lord Howe, to forward Provisions and Stores up the Hudson's River, as soon as the same was practicable; and upon my Arrival, I found that one Convoy was set out, & since that, I have forwarded several more, which altogether makes ten weeks Provisions for 20,000 Men; and posted the Troops at the most convenient Places, on this River, for the Protection of the said Provisions, as well as for expediting the Batteaus, the Navigation in different Places being very difficult, and requiring hard labour to work them up against the Stream and over the Rifts, in Order to profit as much as possible of the Water Carriage; notwithstanding of which we have at the highest Water, three Portages between Fort Edward & this; whereof one is at Times six Miles in length, but never less than three, this is at the Rifts2 between the Half Moon & Still Water; the next is upwards of two Miles above Saratoga, and the last Five Miles higher, opposite to a Place called, in the Map, Fort Miller, which, some Years ago, was a Provincial Intrenchment; the first of these, is near three Quarters of a Mile long, and the other only 400 Yards; from this last Portage, the Navigation is tolerable good, to Fort Edward, whither all possible Diligence shall be used, to transport the Artillery, Ordnance Stores, and Provisions; but as these, from the Accidents Batteaus are subject to, cannot all be trusted to this Conveyance, especially the Powder, Biscuit & Rice, I have therefore engaged 300 Oxteams, and all the Waggons that can be procured in the

¹ See note to letter of April 25, 1757.

² Properly signifies a fording-place, but is sometimes used to indicate shallow water covering submerged rocks. Half Moon was the post where the Mohawk enters the Hudson. Still Water was opposite the junction of the Hudson and the Hoosick.

three Upper Counties of this Province, all which will be wanted to carry the Batteaus as well as every other Requisite from Fort Edward to Lake George, which is 14 Miles; This Road, as well as that from hence to Fort Edward, will require great Repairs, from the Melting of the vast Quantity of Snow, which together with the heavy Rains that have succeeded it, have overflowed the Country, carried off the Bridges, & broke up the Roads, which at present employs the greatest Part of the Troops in repairing the same.

Lord Loudoun, having acquainted you in February last, that as great Numbers of Boats wou'd be wanted, for carrying into Execution the Plan he then proposed, he had order'd them to be built, and had appointed Capt. Bradstreet, to take the Charge of those for the Lakes, & to provide the Batteau Men for them; 1 and as in Pursuance of these Directions, Lieut. Colo Bradstreet had collected the Materials, as well as the Carpenters, and had greatly forwarded this Work, by the time that I received His Majesty's Commands for that Purpose, it was thought most for the King's Service, that Lieut. Colo Bradstreet, who himself likewise desired it, shou'd finish the Work he had begun; to which I yielded the Readier, as he declared himself by far better Qualified for this Business, than that of Deputy Quarter Master General, with which Commission His Majesty had honored him; especially, as he was an utter stranger to the Country allotted for His Department, having never been beyond Philadelphia: -

Whereupon I immediately appointed Sir John S! Clair,³ to the Southern District, who, from his having served there under M! Braddock, is not only acquainted with the Country, but also with the People in it, which must facilitate Matters greatly, & render him of much more Service to Brig! Gen. Forbes, than Lieut. Col? Bradstreet possibly

cou'd have been.

By this Alteration, which I hope will meet with His

¹ See letter of February 14, 1758.

² See note to letter of December 30, 1757.

Majesty's Approbation, it became necessary for me to continue Captain Christie, Assistant Deputy Quarter-Master General to the Troops under my immediate Command, in which Capacity, he has served ever since the Year 1756, and, from his Experience, Activity and Knowledge, of this Country, is the most fit of any I cou'd pitch upon.¹

Having had no Notification of any Person being appointed by His Majesty, to act as Deputy Quarter-Master General, to the Troops employ'd to the Eastward, and Major Robertson,² of the 2^d Battalion of the Royal Americans, having acted as such all last Year, both at Halifax & here, I have

again sent him thither in that Capacity.

The several Departments of Deputy Quarter Master General, being thus settled, Lieut. Col. Bradstreet proceeded with all Dispatch, in building & expediting a proper Number of Batteaus, of which I have the Satisfaction to acquaint you, that there are now 1500; . . . But I am sorry to tell you, that we are very deficient in Batteau Men; of the 800 Lieut. Col. Bradstreet had engaged to raise, he has only about 450, and I have not been able to get more than 400., owing to the great Bounties given by the Respective Provinces; . . . I have published an Advertisement in the New York Papers, by which I offer, as an Encouragement, to all such as will voluntarily enter into this Service, a further Consideration of 2^s/. New York Currency, travelling charges, for every twenty Miles over and above their pay; And as I had learned, that there were a great Number of Batteau-Men along the Mohawk River, I applied to the Lieutenant Governor for a Warrant, empowering Lieut. Col? Bradstreet, to impress the same, which he immediately granted, and Circular Letters, in Consequence of it, have

¹ See note to letter of August 16, 1757.

² James Robertson went with Amherst to Louisburg as quartermastergeneral, and held the same position as lieutenant-colonel in 1759. He went to Martinique in the campaign of 1762. In 1775 he was stationed at Boston as colonel, and held that position when the British army evacuated that city. He returned to England in 1777, and was appointed governor of New York in 1779. He died in England in 1788.

been wrote to the Respective Justices; but hitherto little Benefit has arisen to us from it; nor can we expect any as long as this Country is suffer'd to remain without any Police.

The next Step I mean to take, to remove the Inconveniences & Delays, that must necessarily arise, from this Deficiency of Batteau-Men, is to employ as such, those of the Provincial Troops as are most fit for, and have formerly been in, that Service, which I hear are many; and in order to encourage them to discharge their Duty, with Readiness and Alertness, and to make them some Recompence for the Tear & Wear of their Cloaths, I propose to make up their Pay to that of the Batteau Men, which is 3s/. New York Currency per Day. Those of New York, which are the only Provincials that have yet joined me, are, jointly with the Regulars, already employed in this Service. So few Batteaus remaining to be finished, and the Expence of the Carpenters, both for their Pay & Provisions being very heavy, I have order'd them to be discharged, all to the Number that will be requisite for building two Vessels for the Lake, the one of fourteen the other of Ten Guns, the Naval Stores for which, Capt. Loring 1 is gone to provide at New York, and they shall be set about, as soon as we can take Post on that Lake.

* * * * * * *

Capt. Loring landed at York the 4th of March, whence he forwarded your Dispatches to me by Express; . . . as I was directed to take up a Number of Transports, for which an Agent was necessary, he being au fait of that Service, and none having come out, I sent him in that Capacity to Boston, where he took up and prepared, the Number of Transports necessary for the Embarkation from that Place. . . .

Capt. Loring having very ingenuously own'd to me, and indeed I must say with Truth, that he was not Capable of Commanding so large a Body of Batteau Men, as we shall have Occasion for, I have again been obliged to leave this

¹ See note to letter of January 9, 1758.

Charge to Lieut. Col. Bradstreet, who, from his former Experience of them, knows best how to deal with them, which is no easy Task, for they are an unwieldy & unruly

set; . . .

Under these Circumstances Captain Loring will only have the Building and expediting the two above Vessells; from whence he will be able to get them finished so much sooner, and when that is done, he is to have the Chief Command of them, together with such a Number of small Craft as he shall require, and as Officers and Seamen are necessary, to Command & navigate these Vessells, I have given him Instructions to raise them at New York, at as easy Rates as possible. Upon my Arrival here I was informed, that a Scalping Party of about 80 Indians had made an Inroad on the German Flatts, and had scalped 32 Inhabitants 1 . . . a party of our Rangers stationed at Herkermer's, having turned out upon the Alarm, had the good Luck to fall in with their Leader, (which they scalped) who proved to be an Onondaga, that had removed to Oswegatchie,1 and had resided there for some years past. Our Scouts, who are constantly ranging the Woods towards Ticonderoga, & Crown Point, to watch the Motions of the Enemy, and to do them as much Mischief as they can, have of late brought in 8 Scalps & 15 Prisoners, by which latter we were in hopes of gaining some Intelligence, but they cou'd not give us any, as at the Time they were taken, (which is about 4 weeks ago) they say, no boats had come to them this Spring, from Canada, altho' the Lake was open.

The furnishing so many Provincial Officers with Provisions, in the same Proportion & Manner as was done to the King's Forces, & the Transportation of so great a Quantity, as wou'd be necessary, if that Proportion had subsisted, being attended not only with a very great Expence, but likewise several Inconveniences & Difficulties, I therefore thought it proper to reduce that Proportion, from what it was before, to only one Ration per day to each officer, of

¹ See note to letter of February 14, 1758.

what Rank or Denomination so ever, and that the Provincial Officers might have no Room to complain, I gave it out in Publick Orders, that this Rule & Proportion, so settled by me, was to be observed among all the Troops throughout the Continent, and to take Place, from the respective Times of Embarkation, for those that are employ'd to the Eastward, & from the 14th of May, for those that Serve on this Side, & to the Southward. — This will not only be a very great Saving to the Publick, but will likewise remove the Difficulties nay, I may say, Impracticability, of getting thro' the Woods with such an Incumbrance, I must at the same Time beg leave to observe to You, that as the Reasons, which have moved me to make this Regulation, must subside with the Breaking up of the Campaign, & that the Officers of the Regular National Troops, expect to be reinstated their former Allowance, so soon as they quit the Field to go into Winter Quarters, I do propose to recall my Orders, . . . as I cannot help owning, that I do think that Proportion Moderate, & that, in many Places where the Troops must be Quarter'd in the Winter, the Officers cannot do with less.

I have the Honor to be, With the greatest Respect Sir, Your most obedient, and most Humble Servant JAMES ABERCROMBY.

GENERAL LAWRENCE TO PITT 1

On Board His Majesty's Ship Namur in Halifax Harbour. 23^d May. 1758.

Sir,

I had the Honour of writing you a Letter dated May 9th; ² a Duplicate of which goes by this Conveyance, acknowledging the receipt of your Packet to Brigadier Whitmore.³ Since that, the Brig^t with the Troops and empty Transports from the Continent, the 58th Regiment from Ireland and every Corps, (the 28th excepted) that I understand to have

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 79.

² See letter of that date.

³ See note to letter of January 27, 1758.

been destined for the Expedition against Louisbourg, assem-

bled in this Harbour.

Upon the Brigadier's arrival, which was on the 17th instant, He immediately opened your Packet addressed to him upon His Majesty's Service, and finding that it contained his Instructions to remain at Halifax in the Command of the Troops which were to be left for the Protection of Nova Scotia, and to send me forward with the Army, to take post upon the Island of Cape Breton &ca; He was pleased to signify to me his approbation of my Conduct in the necessary preparations that had been making for the Expedition, and also to desire I would continue giving out such further Orders to the Troops, as might be requisite, until General Amherst should arrive, or until the Fleet & Army should sail out of this Harbour.

In Consequence of these Instructions from the Brigadier, the four Regiments in Garrison at Halifax, were embarked on the 20th & 21st day's of this Month, which was as early as it was possible for the Admiral 1 to prepare the Transports for their Reception, and Wood and Water his Fleet; and every other Measure has been since pursued, both with the Fleet and the Army to hasten their departure from this

Place, without losing one Moment of Time.

The effective Numbers embarked for the Service of the Expedition, amount to thirteen thousand two hundred and upwards, officers and non-commission'd Officers included; The sick left in the Hospital at Halifax, to about two hundred and Seventy; the former are in the highest Health and Spirits, and the latter will, I hope, recover in good time to join and strengthen us in the execution of such further Services as we may be wanted for, when Louisburg is Reduced.

The Admiral and all about him are impatient for a fair Wind, and I beg leave to subscribe myself with the highest defference and Respect, Sir,

Your most obedient and most obliged humble Servant CHAS LAWRENCE.

S

GENERAL ABERCROMBY TO PITT1

ALBANY, May 24th 1758.

Sir,

... I think it necessary to transmit You Copies and Extracts of all such Letters as have passed between Sir William Johnson, Gov! Denny, & Me, upon this Occasion, together with the Information & Intelligence accompanying the same; From whence you will see, that Teedyuscung, the Chief of the Delawares,2 & several of those Tribes of Indians, who had made Incursions on the Frontiers of Pensylvania and Maryland, were turning fast on our side: That some of the Twightwee Tribes, and of the far Nations over the Lakes, were of the same Mind; and that they were all desirous of joining His Majesty's Army against the French, previous to which they proposed a Treaty of Peace, which the Assembly of Philadelphia, in Order that they might carry their projected and favourite Plan of Trade with them, the easier into Execution, wanted by all Means to draw the Governor in; but he very wisely rejected it, untill such Time as he cou'd have Sir William Johnston & my Opinion thereupon, & for that Purpose, transmitted to me, Copy of the Minutes of the Conference between him and some of the Delawares, which I forwarded to Sir William, desiring him, if it was necessary, immediately to send M! Croghan, his Deputy, to Philadelphia, to treat with these

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 87.

² The once powerful Delaware tribe was now divided. Part of the Indians had moved to the banks of the Ohio. Teedyuscung ruled the Dela-

wares of the Susquehanna.

³ Colonel George Croghan was an Irishman, who established himself as an Indian trader in the Ohio country in 1746. His influence among the Indians led to his employment as Indian Agent for Pennsylvania. He served as captain under Braddock, and did good service in defending the frontier during the terrible experiences of 1756. In July of that year he had some dispute with the Pennsylvania government, threw up his commission, and joined Sir William Johnson, who, in November, appointed him Deputy Indian Agent, with charge of the Pennsylvania and Ohio Indians, in which capacity he assisted at the numerous treaties and conferences of the next

People, in his Name, & further, that he wou'd let me have his Answer with all possible Dispatch; Meanwhile I wrote to Gov! Denny, acquainting him therewith,1 and advising him not to disgust those Indians, nor, at the same Time, to conclude anything with them, till we received this Answer. On the 13th of April, S. William writ to me, that he shou'd send Mr Croghan, as soon as he returned from the German Flatts, & that in the Interim, Gov! Denny shou'd lose no Time, in sending Invitations to such of the Indians, as were inclined to Peace, to come to Philadelphia. - As soon as this Letter came to my Hands, I sent an Extract of it to Brigadier General Forbes, for him to lay before Gov! Denny; As I did likewise afterwards, Copy of S. William's first Letter of the 28th of the same Month, containing His Opinion of Teedyuscung, and his Advice with Regard to the Measures necessary, and proper to be observed upon this Occasion, all which are so full and explicit, and appear so just to me, that I desired Brig! Forbes to receive them for his Guidance; . . . I waited to see the Result of this Meeting [Congress at Onondaga] but, upon my Arrival here, having been informed, that the Enemy had made another Inroad at Herkermer's on the German Flatts, which had obliged Sir William (who was on his road to Onondaga) to return; and it being necessary, that I shou'd see him, in Order to learn from himself, how the Six Nations stood affected to His Majesty's Interest, . . . I accordingly wrote to him to come down to me here, which he did; And upon my putting the foregoing Questions to him, and desiring a candid and impartial Report of the present State of His Majesty's Indian Interest, relative to the Six Nations and the Indians of the Northern District, he deliver'd me the Enclosed Report, by which you will see, that untill the Congress of Onondaga broke up, he looks upon His Majesty's Indian Interest to be in a State of Suspense; And upon my asking

twenty years. He seems to have done service as guide in the early years of the Revolutionary War, but was later unjustly regarded with some suspicion. He died in 1782. N.Y. Col. Doc., VII. 982.

1 See Penn. Arch., III. 376.

Sir William, how much longer it wou'd continue assembled,

he said, he believed it might be some Weeks.1

Sir William Johnston, being desirous, for the Security of the Mohawk River, to have a Company of Rangers, and having recommended, upon his knowledge of them, one hundred able-bodied active Youngmen, every way fit for that Service, and well acquainted with every part of that Country, . . . I have agreed that he shou'd raise, and form them into a Company, upon the same Establishment as His Majesty's other Rangers; . . .

And upon a complaint from Sir William, of the infinite Detriment arising to His Majesty's Indian Interest, from the constant pernicious practise of furnishing the Indians with Rum, notwithstanding the provincial penal laws, existing to the contrary; and therefore desiring I wou'd interpose my Authority, I have accordingly published a Proclamation, and sent Orders to the different Posts on the Mohawk River, to seize and stave every drop of it, that shou'd be attempted to be brought thither; from whence I hope soon to see this Nuisance removed. . . .

I have the Honor to be, with the greatest Respect, Sir, your most obedient, & most humble Servant JAMES ABERCROMBY.

ADMIRAL BOSCAWEN TO PITT²

Namur in Halifax Harbour. 27th May 1758.

S:

Since my Arrival here we have had Foggs and rain almost every day, notwithstanding which we were ready to sail with the Men of War, and Transports the 21st Instant; but the wind being Southerly could not get out. We have on board the Transports Thirteen Regiments of Foot, and all the Train of Artillery, and Ordnance Stores. The twenty

² A. and W. I., vol. 79.

¹ See Stone, *Life of Johnson*, II. 62-67, for a detailed account of this episode. Stone says that on May 26 Johnson obtained assurances from the Mohawk Indians that their warriors would go with him to Lake George.

eighth Regiment is not arrived from the Bay of Fundy, but I leave Orders here for them to follow.

I will lose no opportunity of proceeding to sea as soon as the wind and Weather will permit, and am S.

your most obedient & humble Servant

E. Boscawen.

GENERAL ABERCROMBY TO PITT 1

ALBANY May 27th 1758.

Sir,

Since my Letter of the 22d 2 Colo De Lancey, with nine more Companies of the New York Provincials have joined us, but the Lieut. Governor of that Province, has not been able to prevail on the Council, to advise impressing of Arms, which, he says, he knows no Law to empower him; that however, he has wrote a very Civil Letter to the Mayor and Aldermen, which, he hopes, will persuade them out of their 1000 Stand; tho' they sigh when he talks to them of it.

The President of the Jerseys, in Answer to my last, acquaints me, that he has order'd the strictest Enquiry to be made for Arms, & finds them excessive Scarce; that he hopes he shall be able to procure one Hundred fit for the

Service, but dispairs of getting more; . . .

Gov! Fitch, of Connecticut, in his Letter of the 20th, which I received the 23rd, tells me, that the Assembly, before mine came to Hand, had made & were making Provision, for compleating the Levies, & furnishing them with Arms, and that the Orders which were then passed, wou'd forthwith be carried into Execution.3—That, as the Assembly is much concerned to forward & render the Service effectual, he is desired to order the Forces already raised, to be equipped, and march with all possible Dispatch, wherefore he had given out orders accordingly, that one Officer of every Company not full, tarry to compleat their Companies, & then immediately to follow & join them. The Numbers raised, he says, is between 3 & 4,000, & that it is probable

² See letter of that date. ¹ A. and W. I., vol. 87. 3 See Col. Rec. of Conn., XI. 121-127.

the Residue may be supplied, even before the others can possibly March, as the Detachments are forthwith to be made.

Gov! Pownall writes me, that he has issued his final Orders for the marching the Massachusetts' Forces, and that he imagines the first Body of them will be at Scorticook 1 on the 30th of this month. He further observes, that as he cou'd not venture upon the Step of an Impress 2 without forming an Order in Council, he immediately called one, laid my Letter before them, and enclosed me the Advice they formed, (of which you herewith have a Copy), in consequence of which, he had wrote to all Colonels, to use their most speedy and utmost Endeavours, to procure Arms upon the Conditions proposed, but on no Account to delay Marching. . . .

The Ship which has the additional Company of Lord John Murray's Regiment on board, and which was missing, when I had the Honour of writing to you, by the Hampshire, did, I find by the New York Prints, arrive at Antigua the 23d. April, after having sprung two Leaks, having lost her Mizen Mast; & having been attacked three Times by Privateers, which she beat off with small Arms; Her Name is the

Anandale, Captain Johnson. By my Circular Letter of the 8th of this Month, I directed the Embargo to be taken off the 22d,3 my Reason for continuing it till then, tho' the Convoys were sailed for Halifax, was, to prevent a Desertion of the Provincial Troops, which probably wou'd have been the Consequence, had it been taken off sooner, than we might expect a Junction; and, that all the Ports on the Continent, might be open at one and the same Time.

I have the Honor to be, with the greatest Regard, Sir, your most obedient & most humble Servant JAMES ABERCROMBY.

¹ Probably meant for Schaticook, on the Hoosick river, a short distance above its junction with the Hudson.

² An impress of firearms was requested by Abercromby. See Acts and Resolves, IV. 142.

³ Printed in Penn. Arch., III. 392.

LORD LOUDOUN TO PITT 1

Hempshire coming into the Harbour of Portsmouth, May 31. 1758.

Sir,

As no Packett has sailed from America since I returned to New York from Boston, where I had on the 10th of March the honour to receive your Letter of the 30th of December, with His Majesty's Commands to return to England; I take this first opportunity of acquainting you that in obedience to this Order, I sett out from Boston the next morning and arrived at New York March the 20th, where I gave Major General Abercromby Coppies of all such Papers as were thought Necessary for carrying on His Majesty's Service and likewise every information that was in my power to give him.

On the 28th of April I embarked on board the Hampshire, and on the 3d of May sailed from the Hook of New York, in

company with Commodore Durell in the Diana . . .

As I imagin Major General Abercromby had not received certain accounts of the Transports from Philadelphia having sailed from the Delawar when he finished his Letter which he sent by M. Johnston of the Pay Office, I have the pleasure to acquaint You, that in my Passage from New York to the Hook I met an Officer returning from Philadelphia who saw the Transports sail out of the Delawar the the of April with the three Regiments from thence viz: the the the three Regiments from thence viz: the the Convoy of two Men of War, the Scarborough & the Beaver. From the winds we had it is thought they might arrive at Halifax by the 2^d of May. I shall have the honour of waiting on you as soon as I arrive in Town and am with great regard, Sir,

Your most Obedient Humble Servant

Loudoun.

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 86.

² See letter of that date.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR DE LANCEY TO PITT¹

Sir. New York. 1 June. 1758.

I acquainted you in mine of the 17th of March last that in case a sufficient Number of volunteers did not offer in time, I should be enabled to complete the Troops of this Province by Draughts out of the Militia: a law was passed for this purpose and the Regiment completed in April and are all gone to Albany with my Orders to put themselves under the Command of Major General Abercromby or the Commander of his Majesty's Forces for the time being.

hence 2250 of them collected and purchased in this City. You will probably have heard before this reaches you of Admiral Boscawen's Arrival at Hallifax. The beginning of this week the Jersey Regiment of 1000 Men passed by this town, and this day about 600 arrived here from Massa-

chusetts Bay in their way to Albany.

I have the honor to be with the greatest regard Sir Your most obedient & most humble Servant JAMES DE LANCEY.

GOVERNOR POWNALL TO PITT 2

Sir, Boston, June 8. 1758.

I have the Pleasure to acquaint you that the Troops rais'd by me in this Province march'd the 23d of May from Worcester and have by this join'd Gen! Abercromby . . . When I have done my utmost there will some small deficiency occasion'd by the Fishermen and Quakers. but so small as not to be worth Notice except for the sake of exactness.

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 71. ² A. and W. I., vol. 71.

³ Quakers were exempt from military service, and substitutes were hired to fill their places at a maximum rate of £13.6.8 per man. This was paid by the colonial government, and a special tax levied upon the Quakers therefor. Acts and Resolves, IV. 91, 159. A similar law was in force for the island of Nantucket, partly because of the difficulties of an impressment of the inhabitants, partly because the greater part of them were Quakers. Acts and Resolves, III. 915.

We have here as yet no Account of the Arrival of the Vanguard with the Storeships that bring the Arms & Tents. This Article is a great Distress to the Service under General Abercromby. I have the Pleasure, Sir, to acquaint you that Admiral Boscawen sail'd from Halifax the 28th of May, Had fair Wind & Clear Weather. was seen about 15 leagues off Cap au Rouge Bay 1 on Tuesday, the wind about to the South with Clear Weather, so that it is supposed he must arrive at his place of Destination on Wednesday noon. The Dublin was not arriv'd when they saild, but I have an Account that She came upon the Coast just as they were going off - and so join'd the Fleet - His Majesty's ship King George which I sent out to cruize on the Fishing banks has sent in here two large French Store Ships - one bound to Louisbourg and [the] other to Quebec. I have sett up a Courier between this & Gen! Abercromby's army and shall sett up a Packet boat between this and the Fleet that Rows as well as Sails, by which I hope to keep up a Constant & uninterrupted Course of Intelligence between them.

I have several Scouts out with Surveyors examining and reconnoitring the Country, One which I sent to survey the River Penobscot up to the Falls are returned and have sent me an exact Map of that R! with the Soundings and Face of the County according to my Instructions, another that I sent to examine the Country from Kenebeck to Penobscot Find that from F! Halifax² to Penobscot in a right Line is a Course E & by N 40 Miles heading all the intervening Rivers. — I have a third out on a very desperate Service to examine the Rout up Kenebeck and Down Chaudier³ to the French Settlements, I have great doubts of the Return of this Scout, However I coud not but think it necessary to know this of which so much has been saied on mere hearsay. I shall send a fourth up Connecticut River to the

¹ Probably meaning Gabarouse Bay, now Gabarus Bay, just to the southwest of Louisburg.

² On the Kennebec. Built in 1755.

³ Chaudière. A portage separated the head-waters of this river from those of the Kennebec.

Heads of the Waters on the height of the Country, for if we mean to preserve any Command or even Peace in N. England it must be by a Military Settlement of the height of the Land amongst the heads of the Waters Whoever possesses that will command the country, & if we do not the French & Indians will.

I have the honor to be with most profound Respect Sir Your most obed: and most humble Servant

T. POWNALL.

PITT TO GENERAL AMHERST 1

WHITEHALL, June th 1758.

Sir,

His Majesty having thought proper to employ a considerable Body of His Land Forces, amounting to 14,000 Men, A like Letter was) under the Command of the Duke of Marlsent to Adm! borough, with a Number of Ships of War, Boscawen. under that of the Honble Captain Howe, on an Expedition to the Coasts of France, I have the Satisfaction to acquaint You, that, on Thursday Night, an Officer arrived with an Account, that, on the 5th and 6th Instant, His Majesty's Troops had been so fortunate as to make good a Landing, with little or no Opposition in Cancalle Bay, about seven miles from St Malo. And the inclosed Extraordinary Gazette will give you a full Account, that His Majesty's Forces, under the Command of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, had, by the best concerted Plan, executed with the greatest Ability, happily passed the Rhine on the 2d Inst.3 There is the greatest reason to hope, that this fortunate Coincidence of Events will not fail to have the best Effects in Disconcerting, and Distracting the Views

24, 1758.

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 76.

² On the coast of Brittany. The British burnt the shipping in the harbor of St. Malo, but inflicted no permanent loss upon France. See Entick, III. 84-91.

³ This movement was preliminary to the battle of Crevelt, fought on June

of the Enemy, and Distressing the French in such distant Parts.

I flatter myself this Letter will find you safely arrived in North America, and tho' I had no new Orders to send you from His Majesty, I would not omit the first Opportunity of communicating to You this agreeable News, which, I am persuaded, will not only give you the greatest Pleasure, but may also have its Use in adding fresh Spirit, & Vigor to the Operations of the Troops under your Command.

I am etc

W. PITT.

PITT TO LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR DE LANCEY 1

WHITEHALL. 10th June. 1758

Sir,

I send you inclosed Copies of Two Papers, that have been put into my hands by M. Celesia, Minister from the Republick of Genoa, with regard to Lorenzo Ghiglino, a Genoese, Captain of the Ship called Le Conception de Loiola, which was taken last Summer by two Privateers, and brought to New York, where the said Ship with one Fifth Part of the Cargo, was acquitted by the Court of Admiralty, & the Remainder of the Cargo was ordered to be sold, and the Produce to be deposited, till further Proof could be brought as to their being the Property of Spanish Subjects, from which Sentence the Masters of the Privateer having appealed to the Commissioners of Appeals in Great Britain, Cap! Ghiglino came over here to prosecute his Cause, but, to his great Surprize, finds that no Step has been taken, on the Part of the Apellants, towards bringing the said Cause [before] the Superior Court, from whence he apprehends some Fraud, by which he may be deprived of the Benefit of the Sentence, already given in his Favor, at New York, & also of his Claim for Freight & Costs & Damages; I am therefore to desire that You would be pleased to make some Enquiry into this Case, and if it

shall prove to be, as stated by the Genoese Captain, that you would do, what ever may legally depend upon you, in order that the Cause may be regularly brought before the Court of Appeals, agreable to the Appeal lodged by the Captors, & to what appears to be so reasonably desired by Capt. Ghiglano.

I am &cª.

W. PITT.

PITT TO GENERAL ABERCROMBY 1

WHITEHALL 10th June 1758.

Sir,

On the 24th of April, I received the Favor of your letters of the 16th March, and on the 1st Inst. Mr Johnston arrived with those of the 28th April; 2 all which were immediately laid before the King, & tho' I have no new Orders to send you from His Majesty, I would not omit this Opportunity to inform you, that the King entirely approves your Conduct and Diligence in His Service. His Majesty saw, with great Satisfaction, the Forwardness of the several Preparations you had been directed to make, for an early and vigorous Campaign in the different Parts of North America, and the King doubts not but you will continue to exert your utmost Efforts in the Execution of His Majesty's Orders for the Operations of this Great, and it is hoped, decisive Campaign; As the Vessels with the Ordnance, Arms, Tents, Stores &c. for New York and Philadelphia, sailed from Spithead the very first days of April, It is hoped they will have arrived soon enough not to occasion any material delay in the Operations under your own Command, and that of Brigadier Forbes; at all Events, however, The King extremely approved the Timely Precautions you had taken for procuring all the Arms, that North America can furnish for the Supply of the Provincial Levies.

The King, who has a true sense of the active Zeal, Colonel Schuyler has so often shewed for His Service, saw with Con-

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 76.

² See letters of those dates.

cern, the disagreable Situation of That Gentleman, from the Difficulties that have arisen, with regard to his being exchanged, and tho' his Majesty will readily agree to any Measures, that shall be proper and practicable to obtain the Release of so good a Subject, yet it is thought, that no Steps can be taken here, for that Purpose, till it is known what Answer Mo. Vaudreuil shall have returned to the Proposal you had made to him; and in Case that Answer should, as Colonel Schuyler apprehends, prove to be negative, you may assure him, that no time will be lost in endeavouring to effect in Europe, an Exchange for him.

With regard to the Memorial Col? Schuyler had given you, desiring the Payment of the Sum of £211.8.7. New York Currency, which he had advanced to supply the Necessities of several Prisoners in Canada. I am to signify to you the King's Pleasure that you do direct the said sum to be issued to M. Schuyler, and charge the same to the Ac-

count of Contingencies for the Service in America.1

I cannot conclude without returning you my perticular Thanks for the Map, you have been so good to send me by M. Johnston, and shall be much obliged to you, for the others, you give me Reason to hope for.

I am &cª

W. PITT.

PITT TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON AND LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR ELLIS²

WHITEHALL. 10th June 1758.

Sir

The Lords Commissioners of Trade & Plantations having transmitted to me several Letters & Papers which their Lordships had received from you [Gov! Lyttelton] & Gov! Ellis, "giving an Account of a Settlement, which several of His Majesty's Subjects, without any Licence or Authority from His Majesty, or any acting under

² A. and W. I., vol. 76.

¹ See Abercromby's letter of April 28, 1758.

His Authority, have made to the Southward of the River Alatamaha which is the reputed Southern Boundary of the Province of Georgia, & acquainting their Lordships with the Conduct of the Spanish Governor of Augustine upon this Occasion, & with yours & Governor Ellis's Proceedings with respect to the said Letters," their Lordships having also reported to me for His Majesty's Information their Opinion, "that it may be of very dangerous Consequence that those People should be suffered to remain in a Settlement thus begun, without His Majesty's Authority, & which, notwithstanding your requisition to them to remove, still subsists, in such a degree of Independency, as is inconsistent with the Rights & Sovereignty of the Crown, & may have very pernicious Effects on His Majesty's Interests with the Indians," the Letters from their Lordships to me upon this Occasion, together with the Papers therein referred to, have been laid before the King, & I am commanded to signify to you His Majesty's Pleasure, that you immediately give Orders in His Majesty's Name, to the Inhabitants of a certain Settlement, made without His Majesty's License, or Authority, & called by themselves New Hanover, to remove immediately from thence, & you are to take all due Care that no Settlements whatever be made without Leave of His Majesty or of those acting under his Authority. In the Execution of the above Orders, you [Mr. Lyttelton S. Carolina] will not fail to act in Concert with M_i^r Ellis Gov. of Georgia, who will, by this Conveyance, receive his Majesty's Commands to the same Purpose.

I am &cª

W. PITT.

¹ The southern boundary by the terms of the charter of 1732. For an account of this question, and of New Hanover, see McCrady, South Carolina under the Royal Government, 115; and Jones, History of Georgia, I. 539. See also, Ellis's letter to Pitt, of February 12, 1759, and the following document.

GENERAL AMHERST TO PITT 1

CAMP BEFORE LOUISBOURG.² 11th: June 1758.

Sir.

The last Opportunity I had of writing to you, was on the 17th May, by a Virginia Man bound to England, I then acquainted you with my Expectation of seeing Halifax in a day or two, but the later part of my Voyage, by contrary Winds and Fogs, proved as tedious as the first, 'till I had the good fortune of meeting Admiral Boscawen with the Fleet and the Troops coming out of the Harbour of Halifax on the 28th Lt Gen! Bragg's Regiment from the Bay of Fundy, joyned the Fleet this day.

The 1st of June, Capt. Rous in the Sutherland came from off the Harbour of Louisburg, said two Ships had got in the 30th, that there were 13 Sail in the Harbour, saw the entrance

of Gabarus at night.4

The 2^d, it was foggy in the morning, about 12 saw Louisburg, and the Ships in the Harbour, the Fleet with about one third of the Troops anchored in Gabarus Bay, and this Evening with Brigadier Generals Lawrence & Wolfe I reconnoitred the shore as near as we could, and made a Disposition for landing in three places the next morning, in case the Troops arrived.

The Enemy had a Chain of Posts from Cape Noir to the flat-Point⁵ and Irregulars from thence to the bottom of the bay, some works thrown up at the Places which appeared

practicable to land at, and some Batteries.

On the 3^d, most of the Transports came in this Morning, all was prepared for landing, but the surf on shore was so great, it was impossible to land: this day B. Gen! Whit-

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 79.

See letter of that date.
 A plan of the campaign is in Winsor, Narr. and Crit. Hist., V. 468,

² Amherst's letters, from June 11 to July 27, are practically identical with his Journal of the Siege of Louisbourg, printed in Mante, History of the Late War, 117-134. (London, 1772).

more 1 arrived from Halifax, at which place I have left Colonel Monckton 2 to command. as one bay was found to have less surf than the others, a disposition was made to land the next morning in one place instead of three.

The 4th the Wind and Surf were so very high that Admiral Boscawen told me it was impracticable to land. The 5th, a great swell and Fog in the morning and the Admiral

declared it still impracticable to land.

The 6th an Appearance of Change of Weather in the Morning early, I was resolved to seize the first opportunity, the signal was made to prepare to land between 5, & 6, o'clock, and at 8 all the Men were in the boats; the Fog came on again, and the Swell encreased during the time the Men were getting into the boats, and the Admiral again declared it impracticable to land, I ordered the Troops on board their respective Ships, first acquainting them with the reason

for so doing.

The 7th, the Weather bad in the morning, in the Afternoon the swell rather decreased and gave us great hopes of landing at day break the next morning, for which Orders were given; and Bragg's Reg! who were in a Number of Sloops, to sail under Convoy by the Mouth of the Harbour to Lorembec, sending at the same time a portion of Artillery destined for the Light-House Point with Orders to make all the Shew they could of landing but not to land 'till further Orders, intending to draw the Enemy's Attention on that side.

From the 2nd to this time the Enemy has been reinforcing their Posts, adding to their works, cannonading and throwing shells at the Ships, and making all the preparations they can to oppose our landing: seven Transports were now missing with Troops on board, three of which came in at night. The Admiral gave all necessary Orders for the Frigates to cover our landing.

⁸ Loranbec, a fishing village, to the east of Louisburg harbor.

¹ See note to letter of January 27, 1758. ² See note to letter of March 22, 1758.

⁴ At the mouth of Louisburg harbor, on the opposite side from the town.

On the 8th, The Troops were assembled in the Boats before Break of day, in three Divisions according to the Plan annexed, and Commodore Durell1 having viewed the Coast by order of the Admiral and given me his Opinion that the Troops might land, without danger from the surf, in the bay on our left, the Kennington and Halifax snow, began the fire upon the left, followed by the Grammont, Diana, and Shannon Frigates in the Center, and the Sutherland and Squirrell upon the right; when the fire had continued about a Quarter of an Hour, the Boats upon the left rowed into the Shore under the Command of Br General Wolfe,2 whose Detachment was composed of the four eldest Companys of Grenadiers, followed by the Light Infantry, (a Corps of 550 Men chosen as Marksmen from the different Regiments, serve as Irregulars, and are commanded by Major Scott who was Major of brigade), and Companys of Rangers, supported by the Highland Regiment, and then by the Eight remaining Companys of Grenadiers.

The Division on the right under the Command of Br. General Whitmore consisted of the Royal, Lascelles, Monckton, Forbes, Anstruther, & Webb, & rowed to our right by the white Point³ as if intending to force a landing there.

The center Division under the Command of Br. General Lawrence was formed of Amherst's, Hopson's, Otway's, Whitmore's, Lawrence's, & Warburton's, & made at the same time a shew of landing at the fresh water Cove: this drew the Enemy's attention to every part and prevented their Troops posted along the Coast from joining those on their Right.

The Enemy acted very wisely, did not throw away a Shot till the Boats were near in Shore, and then directed the whole Fire of their Cannon and Musketry upon them: the Surf was so great, that a place could hardly be found, to get a

¹ See note to letter of January 9, 1758.

² See note to letter of November 1, 1758, for biographical notice of Wolfe.

⁸ At the entrance to Gabarus Bay, on the Louisburg side.

⁴ On the north shore of the bay, midway between White Point and Kennington Cove, where Wolfe effected a landing.

boat on shore; notwithstanding the fire of the Enemy, and the violence of the Surf, Brigadier Wolfe pursued his point, and landed just at their left of the Cove, took post, attacked the Enemy and forced them to retreat, Many Boats overset, several broke to Pieces, and all the Men jumped into the Water to get on shore.

As soon as the left Division was landed, the first Detachments of the Center rowed at a proper time to the left and followed, then the remainder of the Center division as fast as the boats could fetch them from the Ships. and the right

Division followed the Center in like Manner.

it took up a great deal of time to land the Troops, the Enemy's Retreat, or rather Flight, was through the roughest and worse Ground I ever saw, and the Pursuit ended with a Canonading from the town which was so far of use, that it pointed out how near I could encamp to invest it; on which the Regiments marched to their Ground and lay on their Arms, the wind encreased, and we could not get any thing on shore.

The loss of His Majesty's Troops at our landing is, Capt: Baillie and L^t Cuthbert of the Highland Regiment, Lieut. Nicholson of mine, 4 Serg^{ts}, I Corporal 38 Men killed. twenty one were of my Regiment (the Grenadiers) of which 8 were shot, and the rest drowned in trying to get on shore.

5 Lieuts. 2 Sergts 1 Corporal and 53 Men wounded, and of the five Companys of Rangers 1 Ensign and 3 private

killed, I wounded & I missing.

On the Enemy's side 2 Captains of Grenadiers and 2 Lieuts. are prisoners, one officer killed and an Indian Chief, several Men likewise killed, and I imagine about 70 Men taken Prisoners, they were sent on board as fast as possible. by some of the Prisoners I had intelligence that Mons! S! Julien, Colonel, comanded in the Cove, that there were five Batts: in the Town, namely Bourgogne, Artois, Royal Marine, Cambise, & Volontaires Etrangers with about 700, Canadians, the three first Regiments wintered in Louisburg, Voluntaires Etranger came there not long

since with part of the Fleet, and Cambise the night before we landed.

We took from the Enemy 3, 24 Pounders; 7, 9 Pounders; and 7, 6 Pounders; 4 Mortars and 14 Swivells, all which were placed along the Shore to prevent our landing, with Ammunition Tools & Stores of all kinds.

The 9th Lt Bragg's Regiment returned in their Sloops from Lorembec, the Weather continued extreamly bad, the Surf so great that we could get only some of our Tents on shore in the Afternoon.

The 10.h the surf still continued and it was with great

difficulty that, we got any thing on shore.

The IIth the weather grew clear and better, and the light six Pounders which I had ordered on shore immediately after the Troops, were now only landed, and some artillery Stores with them.

I will press on everything to the utmost of my Power towards the Execution of His Majesty's Orders, I write this in Case Admiral Boscawen should dispatch a ship to England, in my next I hope to give you a good account of our Progress. I am with the greatest Respect

Sir, your most Humble and most obedient Servant IEFF: AMHERST.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR FAUQUIER TO PITT 1

W^{MS}BURGH. June 11th 1758.

Sir,

I have the honour to Inform you that on my Arrival here on the 5th Instant, I found that the Colony in obedience to His Majesty's Commands Signify'd in your Letter of the 30th Dec!, 1757,² and received here on the 14th of March 1758. had Raised a Second Regiment of 1000 Men under

² See letter to Governors of Southern Colonies, of that date.

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 71. Francis Fauquier was appointed in February, 1758, to succeed Dinwiddie, and arrived in the colony in June. He died in 1768.

the Command of Col! Byrd,¹ which with the other Regim! of 1000 under Col! Washington, are now both at Winchester² (one Company excepted which are sent to defend the Frontiers against some stragling Indians) ready to proceed on their March to meet the rest of his Majesty's Forces at Fort Cumberland, the General Rendezvous appointed by Brigadier Gen! Forbes—Having the opportunity of a Ship just ready to sail for Glasgow, I would not lose it, to give you the earliest Information in my power, and shall do myself the honour to send a Duplicate of this with any thing new that may happen by the first Pacquet that sails from New York—I am with the greatest Respect. . . .

Your most Obed! Hble Serv!

Fran: Fauquier.

GOVERNOR POWNALL TO PITT 3

Boston, June 14th 1758.

Sir

I have the pleasure to send you with full and authentic Vouchers a Developement of one of those cases complained of by the Spanish Court as Outrages committed by the British American Privateers against the Spanish Trade, Captain James Sample commanding the Privateer Ship Pownall, being off to the Capes Francois 4 on the 10th of February 1758 fell in with a Sloop called the St Juean Baptist coming out from thence and took her, the Master of said Sloop produced Spanish Papers, say'd the Vessell and Cargo were Spanish. Nevertheless a Jew on board in the Character of a Supercargoe offered to ransome her. Cap! Sample trusting to the Proofs which he judg'd he had of the Cargoe's being French kept her & prepared for sending her with a French Prize he then had, to this Port. The Sloop being laden for the Fairweather Seas of the West Indies was too deep to come to the North, in order therefore

¹ See note to letter of February 14, 1758.

² In the lower Shenandoah valley, near the Pennsylvania border.

³ A. and W. I., vol. 71.

⁴ In Hayti. See note to letter of April 10, 1757.

to lighten her he put some of the Coffee on board the French Prize, this latter arrived safe at Boston, the former was obliged by stress of weather to putt away to Providence in the Bahamas. The Captain of the Sloop who refused to come to the Northward with her came here afterward; supposing the Sloop to have arrived, he came with Letters from Lieut Governour of Monte Christi, reclaiming the Sloop and Cargo: The Coffee only being here he petitioned the Court of Vice Admiralty for that, and swearing that it was Spanish and Laden at Monte Christi: The Judge decreed that the Coffee should be appraiz'd delivered to the Spanish Captain he giving Security to refund in Case the Sloop and Cargo (by the Suit now pending at Providence) was condemn'd. The Persons appointed by the Court of Vice-Admiralty to appraiz the Coffee upon emptying the first Bagg, found secreted amongst the Coffee the Papers of which the annexed is an Authenticated Copy. which not only prove that the whole was laden at Cape Francois, that it is French Property, but also afford strong Presumptions that this Nefarious and contraband Trade is not barely conniv'd at by some of the Servants of the French and Spanish Crowns but that the Danish also is to be concerned; before these Papers were found I was at to my private Judgment convinced by the Lieut. Governor's Letters that he could not be Ignorant that this sloop had been in at the Capes, because thô in his Letter of March 14. 1758 to M! Botineau he says that this Sloop sail'd from Monte Christi the first of February, and was taken on the tenth, yet in his Letter 2 to me he expressly says she was taken the second Day after her Departure and would produce this as a Proof that she could not have French goods on board, "as he himself surveyed her at the hour of sailing" - tho' in his Letter to me taken by itself wherein he avoids to be precise in Names and Dates he would have me understand that she was taken two days after her departure from Monte Christi, yet by his letter to M! Botineau 'tis clear he knew

² Of the same date.

¹ A port on the north coast of Santo Domingo.

she was taken two days after her sailing from Cape Francois, as was really the Case. his Letter also to me gave me a further Suggestion that he was not averse to such Trade as he therein proposes to me to be concerned in it. These papers dont only discover the fraudulent Device by which this Voyage was to be Conducted, but also the proposed fraud by which the Voyage back was to be conducted. The Captains of the British American Privateers who when Masters of Trading Vessels were not unknowing of (and perhaps not unconcerned in) this Trade in every Article and Instance of it, know very well that these Vessels or their Cargo's so taken are French Property. When the Captors fail in their Proof thereof then these Contraband Traders, covered beyond all possibility of Conviction, make Complaint to their Court, and the Case stands in the Eye of the World as an outrage against the Spanish Trade. had not these Papers been found, as the Spanish Captain (perjuring himself for which he hath been since taken up) swore positively to the Lading the Goods at Monte Christi, this would have stood in the same Light: The Captain of the Privateer must have been tried for Piracy, his Bond sued out against him, and the Affair made a fresh Instance of British Outrage against the Spanish Trade.

I dont, Sir, suffer myself to make any Observations on this

Matter, and it needs no Explination. -

I have the honor to be with most profound respect Sir Your obedient and most Humble Servant

T. Pownall.

GENERAL FORBES TO PITT 1

PHILADELPHIA. June 17th. 1758.

Sir,

Col^o Montgomery's Highland Battalion^o arrived here the Eight from S^o Carolina, and I dispatch'd Capt. M^o Intosh

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 87.

² Forbes had twelve hundred men from the Highland Regiment.

the next day to Admiral Boscawen. The Store Ship with Arms, Tents, Ammunition, & Artillery &ca arrived here the 11th, which enables me to set out directly for the frontiers, where I have previously assembled all the new Levys of this Province and Virginia. North Carolina I am told has sent 200 Men by sea to Alexandria in Virginia, and have ordered 100 more (which is all they have) to march by the back parts of Virginia in order to join me, at Fort Cumber-

land, but when they will arrive I cannot tell.

The Maryland Assembly broke up without providing any one thing for the present Service, or for the pay! & maintenance of their troops in Fort Cumberland and Fort Frederick, since the eight of October last. By which the Crown becomes bound by the Earl of Loudoun's orders to M! Sharpe,2 for the payment of those Garrisons from October last to the present time, & the necessity of keeping them there, was the preservation of those two Forts from the Enemy. As they are only 300 Men, and have been used to the Woods and the Indian Manner of fighting, I thought it would be a great loss to allow them to disband themselves, upon the province refusing them their by past pay, or continuing them during the Campaign; so have therefore made them an offer to pay them from this time during the rest of the Campaign, and to solicite for their by past pay, either from the Province, or by Virtue of the Earl of Loudoun's promise and orders to Governour Sharpe.

The Cherokee Indians are, (I am afraid) no longer to be kept with us, owing to their natural fickle disposition which is not to be got the better off by fair words nor presents, of both which they have had a great deal, and threats we dare not use, least they change sides, so if the seeing of our Cannon and their Cousins the Highlanders has no Effect upon their stay with us, we shall lose the best part of our Strength as all the Northern Indians mostly our Enemies

² See Sharpe's letters of October 22, 1757, and March 16, 1758; and

Forbes's of May 1, 1758.

Braddock's old rendezvous, at the junction of Wills Creek and the Potomac. See letter of May 3, 1757.

were kept in awe by the presence of so many Cherokees.1 As my offensive Operations are clogged with many Difficultys, owing to the great distance & badness of the roads, through an almost impenetrable wood, uninhabited for more than 200 Miles, our back inhabitants being all drove into Carlisle.2 I am therefore lay'd under the Necessity of having a stockaded Camp, with a Blockhouse & cover for our Provisions, at every forty Miles distance. By which Means, altho' I advance but gradually, yet I shall go more Surely by lessening the Number, and immoderate long train of provision Waggons &c, For I can set out with a fortnight's provisions from my first deposite, in order to make my second, which being finished in a few days, and another fortnight's provision, brought up from the first, to the second, I directly advance to make my third, and so proceed forward, by which I shall have a constant Supply security for my provisions, by moving them forward from Deposite, to Deposite as I advance, and lastly if not thought convenient to settle upon the Ohio, or in that Country, I shall have a sure retreat, leaving a road always practicable to penetrate into those back Countrys, as our Settlements advance towards them, from this side of the Allegany Mountains.

I need not point out to you Sir, my reasons for these precautions, when you consider that had our last Attempt upon Fort Du Quesne succeeded, we must have retired directly, for want of provisions, and at that time our back Settlements were much nearer advanced to Fort Du Quesne and the Ohio, than they are at present, having properly

speaking none to the Westward of Carlisle.

I have used every art and Means to get Intelligence of the strength of the French and Indians (in their Alliance) in those parts, but to little purpose, having various reports, which may indeed be true, as their Savages may be as whimsical as ours, and consequently they may have sometimes

¹ See Forbes's previous letters of May 1 and 19, and notes thereto.

² At this date Forbes seems to have intended to rendezvous at Fort Cumberland, and march thence to Fort Du Quesne over Braddock's road. For a discussion of this point, see Hulbert, Historic Highways, V.

numbers and at other times few or none. But by every Account the whole of them in those parts are in a starving Condition, as there has no Provisions been sent to them this Year, either from Canada, nor by the Missippi. . . . As the Store Ship was so late of Coming in, I was obliged to purchase a great many Arms, Tents &c, for the Provincialls, so shall keep the supernumerary Arms in Store, and the new Tents may serve another occasion — I have likewise been obliged to purchase every kind of thing for the Indians who came naked, having had no manner of Assistance from either off the Superintendants of Indian Affairs.

I have now above 400 Men out upon scouting partys, but as they have four or five Hundred miles in the going and returning, what Intelligence they bring is always of so

old a date that there is no trusting to it.

I shall lose no Time in doing every thing in my power for the publick good to the best of my Capacity, and have the honour to be, with the greatest regard and esteem. Sir, Y' most obed! & most humble Serv!

Jo: Forbes.

GENERAL AMHERST TO PITT 1

CAMP BEFORE LOUISBURG. 23d. June. 1758.

The last Letter I wrote to you I gave you an Account of every thing material that had happened to the 12th of June,2 on which day from Intelligence I had received that the Enemy had destroyed the Grand Battery, and called in their Out Posts, I detached Brigadier Wolfe with 1200 Men, 4 Companys of Grenadiers, 3 Companys of Rangers and some Light Infantry round the North-East Harbour, to the light-House Point,3 with an Intention to Silence the Island Battery4 and at the same [time] to attempt to destroy

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 79.
² See letter of June 11.

⁸ See note to letter of June 11.

⁴ On the island in the mouth of Louisburg harbor.

the Ships in the Harbour, sending at the same time by sea the proportion of Artillery, Tools &c., that had been

ordered for this Service.

I received this day a Report from Brig! Wolfe¹ that he had, taken possession of the light house point, and all the Posts on that side the Harbour, which the Enemy had abandoned, leaving several Cannon which were rendered useless, Tools &c², and a great quantity of fish at Lorembee—the weather continued extreamly bad, but we got some Tools on shore this night, so that on the 13th we began to make a Communication from Right to the Left, in front of the Camp, and I ordered three Redoutss on the most advantageous Ground in the Front: a party of the Enemy came out this day, towards our Camp, but were soon beat back by the Light Infantry, before two Picquets could well get up to their Assistance. we worked at the three Redoutss in front all night.

the I4th the Enemy canonaded us a great part of the day, I received a Letter from the Governour, a Copy of which I send you enclosed with my Answer. the surf still continued so great that it was with the greatest difficulty we could land anything. The Fleet under the Command of Sir Charles Hardy which appeared yesterday for the first time, was in

the night blown off to Sea.

the 15th I sent four more Mortars in a Sloop to the light house, but we could not get any Artillery landed on this shore, at night two Deserters from the Voluntaires Etrangers came in, said they had 5 killed and 40 wounded in the skirmish on the 13th.

the 16th the first fine Weather, we landed twelve days provision, and got many things on shore, but could not yet

land any Artillery.

the 17th I got Colonel Bastide² on Horseback and with Col. Williamson and Major McKellar, we reconnoitred

² Commanding a brigade of engineers. Mante, History of the Late War,

115. See also note to letter of May 9, 1758.

¹ See Wright's Life of Wolfe, 433, for Wolfe's report to Amherst of June 12, and pp. 437, 438 for letters describing the progress of the work.

the whole ground as far as we could, and Colonel Bastide was determined in his Opinion of making Approaches by the Green Hill, and confining the Destruction of the Ships in the Harbour, to the Lighthouse Point, and the Batteries on that side. I added two & Inch Mortars and 3 Royals to the lighthouse batterys.

The 18th we had fine weather, some Indians took three of the transports Men at the bottom of Gabarus bay, who landed there contrary to orders. the Road for the Artillery was pushed on as fast as possible, we got 3 24 Pounders on shore, 'tho the Surf was great the beginning of the Day.

19th the Batterys at the light House were intended to have been opened this night, but could not be got ready so soon, L'Echo, a french Frigate of 32 Guns, was brought in today, had got out of the Harbour the 13th at night & was bound to Quebec, by her we have Intelligence, that the Bizarre got out the day we landed, and the Comette since our Arrival off the Harbour. this shews how very difficult it is to block up the Entrance of the Harbour, it appears to me to be impossible.

The 20th The Island Battery and Ships fired at the Batteries on the Shore, who began their fire this last night, the Enemy burnt an old Ship at the Bottom of the Harbour.

The 21st very bad Weather, and the Surf high, the Enemy discovered us making the Road for the Artillery and canonaded us; threw some Shot into the left of the Camp, but did not oblige me to decamp any part; an advanced Redoute towards Greenhill was thrown up this night.

The 22nd the bad Weather continued, we were employed on the Roads, and getting up a block house on the left, by the Miray Road, to secure the Communication to the North East Harbour, and Light House, and to hinder any Partys from going into the Town.

The 23rd the Admiral assured me there were above a hundred boats lost in landing the Troops and provisions, this day fine weather, and we now have on shore 12 24 Pound-

¹ The road leading to the Miré, or Mira, settlements, on the bay and river of that name, to the north of Cape Breton.

ers, and 6 12 Pounders, the Enemy fired a great deal from their Shipping and Island battery, and they threw some Shot into the left of the Camp. Colonel Misservy and most of his Carpenters taken ill of the Small Pox, which is a very great loss to this Army. Gabions and Fascines are landed, and Caryed forward as fast as possible, to make an Epaulement to Green Hill. the Batteries at the light house fire with success against the Island battery, and I hope will soon silence it.

I am with the utmost Respect Sir
Your most humble and most obedient Servant
JEFF: AMHERST.

GENERAL ABERCROMBY TO PITT 3

CAMP AT LAKE GEORGE. June 29th. 1758.

Sir,

... After giving the necessary Orders for forwarding the Stores and Provisions as well as the provincial Troops, I set out from Albany to Fort Edward on the 7th of this Month, and arrived there the 9th, where Lord Howe was encamped, with the 42th, 44th, & 55th Regts, with 4 Companies of Rangers. — The Remainder of the Regular Troops occupied the Posts below on the Hudson's River, and were working up the Stores, Provisions & Batteaux, untill they cou'd be relieved by the Provincials, which was not fully accomplished till the 17th, when Col? Halimand 5 arrived with the 4 Batth of the Royal Americans. . . . After the Carriages had

² See note to letter of December 30, 1757.

³ A. and W. I., vol. 87.

⁴ See note to letter of November 26, 1757. The campaign was practically

directed by Lord Howe.

⁵ Sir Frederick Haldimand (or Halimand) was a Swiss, appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Royal Americans in January, 1756. He came to America in 1757. He went with Amherst to Montreal in 1760, and was promoted in 1762 to be colonel in the army; served Great Britain in the Revolutionary War, was made lieutenant-governor of Quebec in 1777, and administered that province until 1784. He was intensely disliked by the provincials. He died in Switzerland in 1791.

¹ Mante gives this as "six six-pounders," p. 124.

made several Trips, Lord Howe advanced to the Lake, with the 42^d., 44th, & 55th Regiments, & every Day since Convoys with Boats, Provisions, & Stores, have been dispatched. From the Care that has been taken in furnishing Escorts, none of the Convoys have been attacked, notwithstanding frequent parties of the Enemy have been out. - And to continue this Security, I have been obliged to leave 200. Men at the Half-Moon, 200. at Still-Water, 200. at Saratoga, & 200. at the Great Falls, formerly called Fort Miller,1 — During this Space, Part of the Provincial Troops arrived daily at Fort Edward; to satisfy their Demands, &ca, made it necessary for me to remain there till the 26th, which Day, I arrived at this Place; where allmost all the Men off of Duty are employed in different Works; The Principal is making a stockaded Post, where the late Fort stood, 2 and another work of the same kind on the Rising Ground where the Intrenched Camp was last Year. . . I must also observe, that the Batteaux must inevitably have suffer'd in the different Portages, & working up the Stream, (which are repairing as fast as possible); insomuch that we cou'd not begin till yesterday to embark the Artillery, Stores, which require the most time and exactness.

The Men and the Provisions will take but a short Time to embark, but as yet, not one half of the Provincials, which I propose to take with me, are arrived; There are but 500 of the Connecticut Troops at this Place, and not a single Man of the New Hampshire-men, or Rhode-Islanders. You will also see by the Return the Deficiencies of the Massachusets'-

Bay. . . .

We have here about 800 Batteaux, each of which will carry 22 Men, with 30 Days Provisions, & 90. Whale Boats,

which will carry 10 Men each, without Provisions.

You will see, by the enclosed Return, the State of the Regular Troops, including Col^o Gage's ³ Light Infantry, & the Rangers, which do not exceed 6370. Men, fit for Service,

¹ See notes to letter of May 22, 1758.

² Fort William Henry.

³ See note to letter of April 25, 1758.

Officers included. — I have left two additional Companies of Lord John Murray's,¹ with four Companies of Provincials, computed at 100 each, to garrison Fort Edward, and one Company of the Royal Americans, for the Duty in Albany, as no Provincials wou'd venture to serve there, on Account of the Small Pox. — The other additional Company of the 42^d, which was blown into Antego,² I hear, is arrived at New York, which I have ordered up to Albany. — And the 4 New York independent Companies are stationed, with 1400 Provincials & a Company of Rangers, for the Protection of the Mohawk River, to be commanded by Brigadier Stanwix,³ to whom I have, from time to time, sent full Instructions for his Guidance. . . .

On the 8th two French Deserters from the Regiment La Reine came into Fort Edward from Tienderoga, & gave us an Account, that they had landed with their Reg! there, from Quebec, on the 5th, & that they heard, that the other Regiments, that had been in Winter-Quarters above Quebec, were daily expected. The Intelligence they gave was in a great Measure confirmed by Captain Rogers,4 who returned on the 17th from a Scout. Two days before he had a clear view of Tienderoga from the Hill between Lake-George & Wood-Creek, which not only overlooks the Fort, but a Part of Lake Champlain. - From this Eminence he perceived an Encampment of three Regiments & about 100 Batteaux coming up the Lake, as well as a good Number of Men lying on the Banks, just disembarked; Not content with this Discovery, & out of Zeal for the Service, He, contrary to his Instructions, proceeded with his Whale Boats too far down the Lake, and fell in with a superior Force, and was obliged to retreat, with the Loss of 5 Men killed & 3 taken — amongst the latter, Ensign Downing of the 55th who went out as a Voluntier. This was an unlucky Affair, as they must learn a great deal from these Prisoners. . . .

On the 19th of this Month, a Lieutenant, a Drum, & 20 Men came with a Flagg of Truce from Ticonderoga, with a

¹ The 42d Highlanders.

² Antigua.

³ See note to letter of June 17, 1757.

⁴ See note to letter of June 17, 1758.

Letter from the Marquis de Vaudreuil in Answer to one from me, touching the Exchange of Colonel Schuyler, Captain Lieut. Martin of the Artillery & Surgeon Stakes.¹ . . . as the Marquis de Vaudreuil has taken up the Capitulation made the 9th of August last at Fort William Henry, in a high tone. . . I have in return signified to the Marquis, that I look upon that Capitulation as null & void. . . . Upon which Subject I send you a Copy of my Letter to the

Marquis de Vaudreuil.

I have had no Intelligence from the Eastward, since the Troops sailed from Halifax. — the last Letter is of the 18th of May, from Mr Boscawen, wherein he says, "By the Returns of the Army here made me, We are more than 2000 Men deficient of the Number proposed in England, and near one Company of the Train: but I conclude this to be a wrong calculation of the Strength of the Regimts." . . . And so far from being short of Artillery Men, by this Return they have 48 more than their Complement, which was originally intended to be but 330. agreable to the Disposition of His Majesty's Forces which you did me the Honor to send me in your Letter of the 30th December last.2 And by that Disposition, there were allotted to this Department 7947 Regulars, including 214 of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, 100 of which I parted with to make up the Complement required for the Enterprize to the Eastward; So that we have but 124. of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, & 5950 Regulars, Officers included. As these Remarks of Deficiencies from Halifax may have gone home together with the Returns, I cou'd not help troubling you with these Observations, in my own Justification, having in no respect diminished the Force allotted for the Siege of Louisbourg, & indeed considering the great Force, both by Sea & Land, every Thing of this kind might have been spared upon this Occasion.

I have the Honor to be, with the greatest Respect, Sir, Your most obedient and most Humble Servant.

JAMES ABERCROMBY.

¹ See letter of April 28, 1758.

² See letter of Pitt to Abercromby, of that date.

JOHN BLAIR TO PITT 1

WILLIAMSBURG. June 29th 1758.

Rt. Honble Sir,

Being now, after a long Embargo lately expired (and we are still waiting for Convoy) enabled to give your Excellency an account of his Majesty's Concerns here in Virginia under my short Intromission, between the Departure of the Honble Rob! Dinwiddie Esq! and the Arrival of the Honble Francis Fauquier Esq! his Successor on the 5th Instant, I begin with my being duly Sworn in to the Administration on the 12th of January which I soon notified to Lord Loudoun by the Post, and then by an Express to acquaint his Lordship with the Measures we were taking to get back our Forces from South Carolina, and of a Report I had of a large Body of Cherokees coming to our Assistance which we endeavoured to retain for the Service of the General.

On Receipt of your Excellency's Letter of Dec: 30th 2 signifying to me his Majesty's Purpose of a vigorous Campayn this Year, and his just expectations of our hearty cooperation, I called a Council to meet on the 21st of March. I had before consulted them on a Letter I had from Lord Loudoun on his Majesty's Vigorous Purposes, and requiring us to assist him with 800 Men; But as we had no Instance of a President's convening the Assembly, and the Instruction discouraged it, and as we thought ourselves enabled to comply with His Excellency's Demand, out of the Forces we had then in Pay, it was at that time concluded not to call the Assembly; but on my laying your Excellency's Letter before them, we immediately concluded to have an Assembly; and because the Season was so far advanced, we hurried the Session to begin in 9 days after, (and it takes 5 or 6 days to get the distant Members of the Council, who in weighty

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 71. A nephew of James Blair, the president of William and Mary College. He was a member of the council, and, as its president, became acting governor of Virginia in the interval between Dinwiddie's and Fauquier's administrations.

² See letter of that date.

affairs should be called; which is a Misfortune.) In the meantime I received a Letter from Major General Abercromby, pointing out to us that it was expected we should furnish 2000 Men to an Expedition against Fort Du Quesne as (tho not in express words) we clearly understood it. This was a favourite Scheme with us, which I pressed them heartily with and had the good fortune to find them compliant to my Wish, even in difficult Times. I would not be misunderstood as if I arrogated any Part of the Success to my Influence; No, my speech to them will shew that my Hopes depended on their well-known Zeal to his Majesty's Service and the Cause in hand; And on their presenting the Bill to me for raising another Regiment on this Occasion, I told them it gave me great Pleasure that they had furnished me with a proper Occasion of laying before his Majesty this fresh Instance of their Loyalty, Duty and Gratitude to the best of Kings; in which I hope you will do them that Justice. The Session ended the 12th of April, and I immediately issued Warrants for raising the Men, encouraging the Officers with a Promise to such as appeared worthy, that on their inlisting 50 Able Men, and marching them to Winchester 1 (the Place of Rendezvous) alias Fort Loudoun,2 by the 20th of May (tho' I could hardly expect them so soon) I would reward such with a Captain's Commission, preferring those that got there first so qualified; and to others judged qualified I promised Lieutenancy's on their getting first to Winchester by that day, with 20 Able Men each; and 10 good Men so marched entitled the Officer to an Ensign's Commission, The Regiment being to consist of 10 Companys of 100 Each, the Captain raising 50, two Lieut's 20 each and the Ensign 10. would compleat them.

The Assembly being very Zealous in the Cause, and considering how little time we had for it, generously gave (to

See note to letter of May 1, 1757.

² Built in 1756, on the head-waters of the Tennessee, among the Upper Cherokees, and about five hundred miles from Charlestown. See letter of June 17, 1757. The two posts were entirely distinct, and separated by many miles of unbroken forest.

expedite the enlisting) a Bounty of £10, to each able Man to engage them in the Service only to the 1st of December, as Lord Loudoun had advised; thinking by that means to compleat with greater dispatch and better Men, and it had the desired Effect in both points; This gave me advantages unknown before; But after all it was generally feared, I should not get the Men in time; insomuch that Brig! General Forbes expressed himself to me well pleased indeed with our Zeal; but looking on it as only an indication of a willing Mind without Ability to perform; he hinted my taking into our Pay about 300 Maryland Forces, to prevent their being disbanded; as he found that Assembly could not be brought to support them this Campaign (nor even to pay their Arrears from the 8th of Decr which we must have done had we had them); and for that End he proposed my Meeting Gov! Sharp at Winchester, whether he had sent S! John S! Clair to settle the matter. But as it was impracticable for me to leave the daily demands of Government interrupted here, and as at that time I had good reason to apprehend we were near full, and that it would be attended with insuperable difficulties, by Advice I declined all thoughts of going, or sending to treat about it, but writ my reasons for so doing; this I found offended Sir John much, and I had great Complaints from him on several particulars, for not doing what I had no fund for, and for acting according to Advice of Council (which I endeavoured to have on all Occasions, in this to me new and difficult Work) and if we were mistaken in some things it is not to be wondered at; But this I think may be made evident, that we went as great lengths, and made as many Stretches, to comply with unexpected demands (rather than the grand Design should be obstructed) and the Stop laid at our Door) as may puzzle us to account for.

S! John's Zeal for the Cause shall excuse him to me for all his warm Reflections. I honour him as a valuable Man in Military Affairs; I have had his favour and hope it again,

¹ See letter of Sharpe to Blair. Md. Arch., IX. 182.

when a successfull Campaign (which I sincerely hope) shall have wiped off all Remembrance of the many Rubs he met with in setting out; I know not if his Complaints may reach you; but I shall be content (having my own integrity) either to bury them in silence, or vindicate, as you shall choose.

On finding the want of Arms by a Store Ship being missing I stript the Gov. House and our Magazine of all the Arms we had to furnish the new raised Regiment; and have engaged to pay for Tents and Kettles to be bought at Philadelphia, tho I had no fund for it, as we expected them from the King's Stores, and hope to have it made up to us.

Thus has Virginia exerted to co-operate with his Majesty's Forces, in I hope a laudable Manner. May God give a Blessing to our Arms, and long preserve his Majesty a bless-

ing to his Dominions.

I am, with profound Respect

Your Honours most Humble and most Obed! Servant John Blair.

GENERAL AMHERST TO PITT 1

CAMP BEFORE LOUISBURG. 6th July. 1758.

Sir, * * * * * * * *

On the 24th, 2 the Enemy fired on the light house Batteries from the Town & Shipping, and on our Advanced Redoute which was finished, they fired from the Town. I sent a Drummer into Louisburg with a Letter to the Governour, a copy of which I enclose with the Answer thereto. Colonel Bastide 3 remained fixed in his opinion of advancing by Green hill; 4 we had this day in the Park of Artillery 13 24 Ps and 7 12 Ps...

The 25th the Cannonading continued night and day, in

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 79.

² See letter of June 23, 1758, and notes. ³ See note to letter of May 9, 1758.

⁴ A hillock to the west of the town.

the evening the Island Battery¹ was silenced, their own fire had helped to break down part of their Works, fascines & Gabions were forwarded to Green Hill as fast as possible, all the Men employed at work and making the necessary Communications; the Enemy fired a good deal at our advanced Redoute.

Boscawen landed 200 Marines, and took the Post at Kennington Cove, which is a great ease to the Army. I desired of the Admiral 4 32 Ps. and 2 24 Ps to leave at the light house to keep the Island battery in ruin, that with a proper Number of Men entrenched there, Brigadier Wolfe with his Detachment might be able to come round the Harbour, bringing his Artillery with him, and to try to destroy the Shipping, and to advance towards the West Gate.

27th . . . the Cannon I asked of the Admiral, were landed

this Night at the light House.

28th a great many popping shots and Cannonading, as the Post at Green hill was covered, we began the Road over the Bogs and throwing up an Epaulement.² Col. Messervy ³ and his son both died this day, and of his Company of Carpenters of 108 Men, all but 16 in the Small Pox, who are Nurses to the Sick, this is particularly unlucky at this time.

29th, Cannonading continued, the Frigate fired constantly at the Epaulement, we pursued working at the road, which cost a great deal of labour; at night the Enemy sunk four Ships, in the Harbour's Mouth, the Apollo, a two decked one, La Fidelle of 36 Guns, La Chevre and La Biche of 16 Guns each, and they cut off most of their Masts, remain in the Harbour five of the Line of Battle and a Frigate of 36 Guns.

¹ See note to letter of June 23, 1758.

² Originally a mass of earth raised for the purpose of protecting a body of troops at one end of their line, or of preventing the guns of a battery from being dismounted by an enfilading fire. The term is now used to designate the whole mass of material which protects the guns in a battery, both in front and on either flank.

³ See note to letter of December 30, 1757.

The 24 the Epaulement and Road went on heavily from the extream Badness of the ground, the Enemy continued their Cannonading and threw some Shells, we skirmished

all day with Parties out of the Town.

3rd a great cannonading from the Town and Shipping on the Baterys B! Wolfe was making, an advanced work on the right thrown up at 650 Yards from the covered way with an Intention of erecting a Battery to destroy the Defences of the Place, it being pretty well on the Capital of the Citadel Bastion, and the falling of the ground from this Place towards the works, would hinder discovering as much of the Works as would be necessary to do them any considerable damage, in the Evening the Sea Officers thought some of the Ships would try to get out of the Harbour, the Batteries on the Left immediately played on them, but it grew so dark, they could not continue.

4th a great Fog when there were glares of light the Cannonading began, 500 Men kept continually making Fascines.

5th very bad weather, the Epaulement was hastened on as much as possible, it swallowed up an immense Number of Fascines, cost some Men, as the Frigate canonaded on it without ceasing.

6th a Sloop sailed out of the Harbour with a Flag of Truce to Sir Ch. Hardy, to carry some things to their wounded

Officers and Prisoners.

The many difficulties of landing every thing in allmost a continual Surf, the making of Roads, draining and passing of Bogs, and putting ourselves under Cover, renders our Approach to the Place much longer than I could wish, but I beg leave to assure you, Sir, that no time shall be lost in advancing and I doubt not, but, the necessary Precautions being taken, our Success will be very certain. I am with the utmost Respect Sir,

Your most humble and most Obedient Servant

[EFF: AMHERST.

GENERAL FORBES TO PITT 1

CARLISLE CAMP WEST OF SUSQUEHANNAH. July 10th 1758.

I did myself the honour of writing to you from Philadelphia the 17th of June,2 when I acquainted you of the Situation of the Troops under my Command. So soon as I gott the Artillery and Stores landed from on board the transports from England, and putt in some Order which was not till the 30th of June, I sett out from Philadelphia with the Highland Battaln of Montgomery and the train of Artillery which marches into the Camp here this day, all well and in order, altho the March was long being 120 miles in excessive hot weather, and having two great Rivers the Skulkill and Susquehannah to pass, upon Rafts and Flatts, and the last river being 1900 yards over. I halt tomorrow and shall then proceed 100 miles further to Raestown,3 where I have now 1500 of the Provincialls, who are building some Storehouses and stockading a piece of Ground for our Ammunition and provisions. For in Raestown there is not one single house; The place having its name from one Rae, who designed to have made a plantation there several years ago, nor indeed is there either Inhabitants or houses from this to the Ohio (except at Forts Loudoun 4 and Lyttelton 5 which are only two or three houses each, inclosed with a Stockade of 100 feet square) the whole being an immense Forest of 240 miles of Extent, intersected by several ranges of Mountains, impenetrable almost to any thing humane save the Indians, (if they be allowed the Appellation) who have foot paths, or

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 87.

² See letter of that date.

³ Now Bedford, Penn. This post was Forbes's base of supplies. F

4 Some forty-three miles west of Carlisle. A fort was built there in 1756.

See Hurlbut, Historic Highways, V. 46, 58.

Now Bedford, Penn. This post was Forbes's base of supplies. He had at first intended to use Conococheague (Williamsport, Md.) for this purpose, but his quartermaster, Sir John St. Clair, would seem to have advised the change.

⁵ Built by Governor Morris in 1755, near the present McConnellsburg, Penn., and within a few miles of Braddock's road.

tracts through those desarts, by the help of which, we make our roads.

I am in hopes of finding a better way over the Alleganey Mountain, than that from Fort Cumberland which Gen!! Braddock took, If so I shall shorten both my March, and my labour of cutting the road about 40 miles, which is a great consideration. For were I to pursue M! Braddock's route, I should save but little labour, as that road is now a brushwood, by the sprouts from the old stumps, which must be cut down and made proper for Carriages, as well as any other Passage that we must attempt.

The Cherokee Indians being but bad Judges of time, came too early in the year to our Assistance, and therefore had not patience to wait our time, so that from the fickleness of their temper the greatest part of them — went home three weeks ago, You may believe Sir, that no method was left untryed to detain them, but they are like Sheep, where one leaps, all

the rest follow.

We have still near 200 that remain, and are so much attached to us that they have given the little nothing they have into our Stores as a pledge of their Services to us during the

Campaign.

This is owing in a great degree to M! Byrd of Virginia² to whom I should do a great injustice if I was silent upon the Occasion. — As he has a very large and opulent fortune in Virginia he joined the Earl of Loudoun early after his Arrival in America, Accompany'd the Army to Halifax last year, and sett a noble example to all the Gentlemen of the Continent, who had either Inclination or Abilities to serve the King and their Country.

He in the Month of February last offered his Services to the Earl of Loudoun, and embarked at New York for South Carolina, went from thence some hundreds of Miles up into

¹ See note to letter of May 3, 1757. As Fort Cumberland lay some distance south of Raystown, the use of Braddock's route necessitated a long détour from the direct line to Fort DuQuesne. See map in Hurlbut, V. 102.

² See note to letter of February 14, 1758.

the Cherokees Country, assembled their Chiefs, and by a march of near a thousand Miles conducted some of the best warriors of that Nation through both the Carolina and Virginia into this Country, and luckily arrived in time at the Army (then in Embryo) where by his Interest and the sight of His followers, their Countrymen, and Chief Sachems; The number I now have the honor to acquaint you off, remains steady to His Majesty's Service, and are now the advanced Guard of the troops under my Command: The Virginia Assembly have named him to the Command of their new raised regimt, which he accepted off with pleasure, and actuated by the same spirit and Zeal for the Honour of the King and good of his Country, has I dare say at great personall expence equipt hir regimt in many necessaries not allowed of by the Virginia Assembly, and they are now all ready at Fort Cumberland.

You will pardon me Sir if I mention one other Gentleman, who tho a near relation of mine, I cannot but do his Intentions and Endeavours the Justice they deserve, I mean Mr. Glen, late Governour of S. Carolina, who came from thence with Montgomery's regimt to pay me a visit at Philadelphia, where hearing of the Defection and falling off, of the Cherokees, went off into the back Countrys directly, and as he has had formerly great dealings with them, I am persuaded his personall Interest among them, contributed greatly at this present time in making them do whatever is desired. But I am persuaded that a Message that he has sent to the little Carpenter, who is the second person of the whole Cherokee Nation will bring him and some of his Warriors to join us

Ibid., 305, 330.

¹ James Glen was appointed governor of South Carolina in 1738, but did not go out to the province until five years later. He filled the office until 1755. His policy with respect to the management of Indian affairs has been severely criticised. McCrady, South Carolina under the Royal Government, 178, 252, 323.

² Otherwise known as Attakullakulla. This personage had been prominent in the dealings of his people with the whites (both French and English) since 1753. He went in the expedition against Fort DuQuesne, but took offence and deserted, whereupon Forbes had him arrested and disarmed.

before the end of the Campaign, so that, as to the point of Indians, we shall be very well if they continue steady, but that is precarious; As the least jealousy, or smallest disgust, oversetts a months Civility, and good usage at once.

In my last,1 I had the honour to acquaint you, How that the Maryland Assembly had behaved with regard to His

Majesty's Orders, communicated to them by you.

So glaring an Infraction of his Majesty's Royal Command at this critical time, draws the eye of all upon them; and their refusing all aid, and assistance, for their own protection, and repelling the Enemy, strikes all honest Men with a horrible Idea of their Ingratitude to the best of Kings.2

I am with the greatest regard and esteem y! most ob! & most Humble Serv!

I FORBES.

GENERAL ABERCROMBY TO PITT 3

CAMP AT LAKE GEORGE. July 12th 1758.

Sir.

The Embarkation of the Artillery, Stores and Provisions being compleated, on the evening of the 4th Inst. next Morning at Break of Day, the Tents were struck; and all the Troops, amounting to 6367 Regulars, Officers & Batteau-Men embarked in about 900 Batteaux & 135 Whale Boats; the Artillery to cover our Landing being mounted on Rafts.

At 5 in the Evening, reached Sabbath-Day-Point, (25 Miles down the Lake) where we halted till ten; then got under way again, & Proceeded to the Landing Place,⁴ (a Cove leading to the French Advanced Guard) which we

reached early next morning, the 6th.

Upon our Arrival sent out a Reconnoitring Party, and having met with no Opposition, landed the Troops, formed them in four Columns, Regulars in the Center, and Provin-

Of June 17.

² See Forbes's letter of September 6, 1758, and notes.

³ A. and W. I., vol. 87. Printed in N.Y. Col. Doc., X. 725.

⁴ At the foot of Lake George, on the western shore.

cials on the Flanks, and marched towards the Enemy's advanced-Guard, composed of one Battalion, posted in a logged Camp, which, upon our Approach, they deserted, first setting fire to their Tents, & destroying everything they cou'd; but as their Retreat was very precipitate, they left several things behind, . . . The Army in the foregoing Order, continued their march thro' the Wood, on the West side, with a Design to invest Tienderoga, but the wood being very thick, impassable with any Regularity to such a Body of Men, and the Guides unskillful, the Troops were bewildered, and the Columns broke, falling in one upon another.

Lord Howe,² at the Head of the right Center Column, supported by the Light Infantry, being advanced, fell in with a French Party, supposed to consist of about 400 Regulars,3 and a few Indians, who had likewise lost themselves in their Retreat from the Advanced Guard; of these our Flankers killed a great Many, & took 148 Prisoners, among whom were five officers & three Cadets. But this small Success cost us very dear, not as to the Loss of Numbers, for we had only two Officers killed, but as to Consequence, His Lordship being the first Man that fell in this Skirmish, and as he was very deservedly, universally beloved and respected throughout the whole Army, it is easy to conceive the Grief and Consternation his untimely fall occasioned; For my part, I cannot help owning that I felt it most heavily, and lament him as sincerely. - I caused his Body to be taken off the field of Battle, and sent to Albany, with a Design to have had it embalmed, & sent home, if His Lordship's Relations had approved of it, but the Weather being very hot, Brig! Stanwix was obliged to order it to be buried.4

¹ Under command of Langy, an old bushranger.

² See note to letter of November 26, 1757.

³ Langy's troops, who were trying to reach Ticonderoga by making a détour.

⁴ Later, his warm friend, Major Schuyler, asked permission to inter the body at Albany. It lay for many years in the Schuyler vault, and was finally buried in St. Peter's Church, of that city. Lossing, *Life of Schuyler*, I. 155. A monument to his memory was erected in Westminster Abbey by the colony of Massachusetts.

The Army, as I observed before, being dispersed & night coming on fast, I collected such Part of it as were within my Reach, & posted them under the Trees, where they

remained all Night under Arms. -

The 7th, in the Morning, having yet no Intelligence of the Troops that were missing, . . . and the Troops with me greatly fatigued, by having been one whole night on the Water, the following day constantly on foot, & the next Night under Arms, added to their being in want of Provision, having dropped what they had brought with them, in Order to lighten themselves, it was thought most adviseable to return to the landing Place, which we accordingly did, and upon our Arrival, there, about 8 that Morning, found the Remainder of the Army.

About 11 in the Forenoon, sent off Lieut. Col^o Bradstreet,¹ with the 44th Regiment, 6 Companies of the 1st Battalion of Royal Americans, the Batteau Men and a Body of Rangers, & Provincials to take Possession of the Saw Mill,² within two Miles of Tienderoga, which he soon effected, as the Enemy who were posted there, after destroying the Mill & breaking down their Bridge, had retired some time before.

Lieut. Col? Bradstreet having laid another Bridge across & having sent me notice of his being in possession of that Ground, I accordingly marched thither with the Troops, & we took up our Quarters there that night: . . . It was thought most adviseable to lose no Time in making an Attack, wherefore, early in the morning of the 8th, I sent M. Clerk, the Engineer, across the River on the opposite side of the Fort, in order to reconnoitre the Enemies Intrenchments. Upon his return & favourable Report of the practicability of carrying those Works, if attacked before they were finished, it was agreed to storm them that very Day.3

² On the stream connecting the two lakes, at the northern end of the

portage.

¹ See note to letter of December 30, 1757.

³ Abercromby's fatal mistakes of neglecting to cut off Montcalm's reënforcements and to bring up his own cannon are too well known to need comment.

Accordingly the Rangers, Light Infantry, and the Right wing of Provincials were order'd immediately to march and post themselves in a Line out of Cannon Shot of the Intrenchments, their Right extending to Lake George, & their Left to Lake Champlain in order that the Regular Troops destined for the Attack of the Intrenchments, might form in their Rear.

The Piquets were to begin the Attack, sustained by the Grenadiers, & they by the Battalions, the whole were ordered to march up briskly, rush upon the Enemy's fire, and not to give theirs, untill they were within the Enemie's Breastwork.

After these Orders issued the whole Army except what had been left at the Landing Place to cover and guard the Batteaux and Whale Boats, and a Provincial Regiment at the Saw Mill, were put into Motion, and advanced to Tienderoga, where unfortunately they found the Intrenchments, not only much stronger than had been represented, & the Breast work at least Eight or Nine Feet high, but likewise the Ground before it covered with felled Trees, the Branches pointed outwards, which so fatigued and retarded the advancing of the Troops, that notwithstanding all their Intrepidity and Bravery, which I cannot sufficiently commend, we sustained so considerable a Loss, without any Prospect of better Success, that it was no longer prudent to remain before it, and it was therefore judged necessary for the Preservation of the Remainder of so many brave Men, & not to run the risk of the Enemy's penetrating into His Majesty's Dominions, which might have been the Case if a Total Defeat had ensued, that we should make the best retreat possible. Accordingly after several repeated Attacks which lasted upwards of four Hours, under the most disadvantageous Circumstances, and with the Loss of 1610 Regulars 334 Provincials killed & wounded as by the Enclosed List,1 I retired to the Camp we occupied the night before, with the broken Remains of several Corps, sending

¹ Montcalm lost less than four hundred.

away all the wounded to the Batteaux about three Miles distance and early the next Morning, we arrived there ourselves, embarked and reached this in the evening of the 9^{th 1}

Immediately after my Return here, I sent the wounded Officers and Men that cou'd be moved to Fort Edward, & Albany; & having so many Officers unfit for present Service, it was judged impracticable, at this Time, to reattempt the Reduction of Tienderoga, & Crown Point; wherefore it was thought adviseable, to divide our Numbers & to reinforce Brig! Stanwix, in Order, if possible, to prevent the Enemy from putting into Execution their Designs against the Mohawk River & coming down to Albany: I have accordingly detatched, the New York, New Jersey, Rhode Island, & a Regiment of the Massachusetts Bay, Troops, consisting with those already there, in a Body of 5600 Men, to take Post at the Oneida Carrying Place, for the Purpose mentioned in Mine of the 29th of June.²

And since Lieut. Col. Bradstreet remained of opinion that it was still practicable to succeed in his Plan against Cadaraqui, which he proposed last Winter to Lord Loudoun, I have given him the Command of 3600 of the above Men, to proceed with them from the Oneida Carrying Place, against that Fort; attempt the Reduction thereof, and destroy the Vessels they have lying there, or if neither of these Attempts should prove practicable, then to watch the Motions of Mo. de Levy, & by engaging him, obstruct and prevent his advancing and penetrating towards the Oneida Carrying Place; in one or other of which I shou'd hope Lieut. Col. Bradstreet may prove successful, as he is not only very active, but has great Knowledge of the Country, & that I

have provided him with every Thing he thought requisite for that purpose. . . . on the Morning of the 8th Day of

¹ See Winsor, V. 524, for plan of the attack on Ticonderoga.

² See letter of that date.

³ Fort Frontenac. Bradstreet obtained his men by vote of a council of war. See letter of February 14, 1758, and note.

⁴ A carry of one mile between the head-waters of the Mohawk river and Wood Creek.

the Action, S! William Joined me with about 300 Indians, who are all since returned, except a very few that were out upon a Scout, and Sir William has followed them, in Order to be aiding and assisting to Brigadier Stanwix. — Under these Circumstances, which leave me the greatest Concern & Anxiety, I shall carefully watch the Motions of the Enemy, and prevent, as much as possible, their Reaping any Advantage from the Check we have met with.

I have the Honour to be, with the greatest Respect, Sir, Your most obedient & most Humble Servant JAMES ABERCROMBY.

GENERAL AMHERST TO PITT¹

CAMP BEFORE LOUISBURG. July 23d, 1758.

Sir,
* * * * * * * *

On the 7th 2 we had very foggy weather I received a Letter from the Governour of Louisburg by a Drummer, and one for Admiral Boscawen, which I sent to him with the one I had received, the Admiral came on shore, we both wrote, and I sent the Drummer back in the Afternoon; a Copy of Mons! Drucour's Letter to me and my Answer are herewith enclosed.3 canonading continued all day, and a good deal of popping Shots from the advanced Posts.

the 8th I intended an Attack on some advanced Posts at Cape Noir, but it did not take place, Col. Bastide 5 got a Contusion by a Musket Ball on his Boot which lay him up in the Gout.

gin in the night the Enemy made a Sortie where B! Lawrence comanded, every thing had been so quiet it was ex-

A. and W. I., vol. 79. See letter of July 6, 1758.

³ Drucour asked that the enemy's fire might not be directed upon the hospitals. Amherst replied that the hospital might be removed to an island in the harbor, or to a hospital-ship, in which case, he would permit the ship to leave the port.

⁴ See note to letter of July 6, 1758. ⁵ See note to letter of May 9, 1758.

pected by some, others I fear, were not so vigilant, and suffered for it, the Enemy came from Cape Noir, and 'tho' drunk, I am afraid rather surprized a Company of Grenadiers of Forbes's, comanded by L! Dundonald, who were posted in a Fleche on the right, Major Murray who comanded three companys of Grenadiers immediately detached one and drove the Enemy back very easily, Whitmore's & Bragg's Grenadiers behaved very well on this occasion, Lord Dundonald was killed, L! Tew wounded and taken Prisoner, I Corporal 3 Men killed, 1 Sergt, 11 Men Missing, 17 Men wounded. the Sortie was of five Picquets supported by 600 Men, a Cap! Chevalier de Chauvelin was killed, a Lieut: wounded & taken Prisoner, 17 Men killed, 4 wounded & Brought off Prisoners, besides what wounded they carved into the Town, one of which, a Captain, died immediately. The Enemy sent out a Flag of Truce to bury their dead, which when over, the canonading began again; the Frigate was so hurt, she hawled close to the Town, the Ships fired very much against Br Wolfe's Batteries.

10th the Road at the Epaulement went on a little better, the Enemy fired a great deal, and threw many Shells. . . .

12th it rained very hard all night not a man in Detachment could have a dry thread on, we made an advanced work to Green-hill, at night the Waggoner who had been taken luckily made his Escape, said they were 250 Canadians. the Citadel Bastion fired very smartly.

13th the Enemy threw a great many Shells, we perfected our works as fast as we could, bad rainy weather, the Enemy was at work at Cape Noir 1 to hinder us taking Possession near that Point, which is of no Consequence, some Deserters came in, said a Sloop from Miray 2 got in three days ago.

14th the Batteries were traced out last night with an Intention to place twenty 24 Ps divided in four different Batterys, to destroy the defences, and a Battery of seven Mortars, with some twelve Pounders to ricochet the Works and the Town.

¹ See note to letter of July 6, 1758. ² See note to letter of June 23, 1758.

15th, the canonading & firing continued, the Enemy tryed to throw some Shells into Camp, supposed to be intended against our powder Magazine. at ten at night the Light house Battery fired some Rockets as a Signal of Ships sailing out of the Harbour, Sir C. Hardy answered it, the Frigate got out, and Sir C. Hardy's Fleet got under Sail & went to Sea. before day break Capt. Sutherland posted at the end of the N. E. Harbour was attacked and there was a great deall of firing, the Grenadiers of Br Wolfe's Corps marched to sustain him, and all the Light Infantry, it was over before they could get up, and by a Deserter from the Enemy, they were only 100 Men, came from Miray where they left Monsieur de Boisbere who had on the other side the Water 300 Men, with Boats to pass. Major Scott with the Light Infantry pursued but could not get up with them. I encamped a Corps forward.

rốth towards night B! Wolfe pushed on a Corps and took possession of the Hills in the Front of the Barasoy¹ where we made a Lodgement, the Enemy fired very briskly from

the Town and Shipping.

17th a great fire continued from the Town and Shipping, we resolved to extend the Parallel from the right to the left; the Fleet returned.

* * * * * * *

21st one of the Ships in the Harbour had some Powder blown up in her, made a great Explosion and set the Ship on fire, which soon caught the sails of two more. they burned very fast and we kept firing on them the whole time to try to hinder the Boats and People from the Town to get their Assistance. the Entre-prenant Capricieus & Superbe were the three burned Ships, the Prudent & bienfaisant remained.

22nd two Batterys on the right opened with 13 24 Ps, and

² Bois-Hibert, or Boishébert, a partisan officer, who had taken a promi-

nent part in promoting discontent among the Acadians.

¹ This was the Arèthuse, who from her post by the Barachois, had swept the ground before the English redoubts with her guns, and seriously hindered their completion. The Barachois was a long sand bank, running out before an inlet of the harbor, which lay to the north of the fortress.

another of seven Mortars and fired with great Success, the Enemy fired very well from the Town for some time and threw their Shells into our works - one shot went into the Muzzle of a 24 Pr and stuck there as if it had been tryed to be rammed in. Our Shells put the Citadel in Flames, I ordered Col: Williamson to confine his fire as much as he could to the Defences of the Place that we might not destroy the Houses. A L! of the Royal Americans going his rounds on an advanced Post, lost his way & was taken Prisoner near Cape Noir. a Battery was begun on the left for 4 24 Ps., 23d the Cohorns were used at night & the french Mortars sent to throw stones from the Trenches. The Enemy fired all sorts of old Iron and any Stuff they could pick up. Col: Bastide was out today for the first time since he received the Contusion our Batterys fired with great Success. this night the Shells set fire to the Barracks and they burned with great violence.

As I now imagine Admiral Boscawen will not send any Ship 'till the Siege is over which, I hope, will not last many days, I will give you an Account of our Losses in my next, which hitherto have been much less than could be expected from so great a fire. the Enemy have fired very wildly and have thrown away a great quantity of Ammunition.

I am with the utmost Respect Sir

Your most Humble and most obedient Servant

JEFF: AMHERST.

GENERAL AMHERST TO PITT 1

CAMP OF LOUISBURG. July the 27th, 1758.

Sir.

* * * * * *

on the 24th the fire was very brisk on our side and the Enemy's decreased, the Admiral gave me 400 Seamen to help work at the Batteries &c² and 200 Miners added to a Corps of 100 already established, that we might make quick work of it, and they were immediately employed. the

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 79.

4 Gun Battery opened, and another of 5 erecting. one of the Men of War in the Harbour the Bienfaisant fired at our Trenches at high water, and the Citadel and Bastion Dauphin fired against the 4 Gun Battery, but our Men firing small Arms into the Embrasures beat the Enemy off their Guns.

25th the Batterys fired with great Success, The Admiral sent me word, he intended to send in boats with 600 Men to take or destroy the Prudent and the bienfaisant in the Harbour, I ordered all the Batteries at night to fire into the works as much as possible to keep the Enemy's attention to the Land, the Miners and work men went on very well with their Approaches to the covered way tho' they had a continued and very smart fire from it, and Grape Shot, and all sorts of old Iron from the Guns of the Ramparts. we continued our fire without ceasing and en Ricochet. The boats got to the Ships at one in the Morning and took them both with great ease, they were obliged to burn the Prudent as she was a ground, and they towed off the bienfaisant to the N. E. Harbour.¹

26th the Admiral came on shore and told me he purposed sending six Ships into the Harbour the next day — just at this time I received a Letter from the Governour, which I answered and the Admiral and I signed it Jointly, this brought on another from the Governour, and I answered it again, and that you may, Sir, be fully informed of everything that passed, I send you Copys of the whole.² The Troops remained in the Trenches this night as usual.

27th Three Companys of Grenadiers under the Command of Major Farquhar 3 took possession of the West Gate, and I sent in Brigadier General Whitmore 4 to see the Garrison lay down their Arms and post the Necessary Guards in the

¹ See Boscawen's account of this incident in his letter of July 28, 1758.

² Part of this correspondence is given by Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe, II. 71-74. The Articles of Capitulation are in Mante, History of the Late War, 132.

³ Major William Farquhar was made colonel of the 44th, and commanded that regiment at the siege of Niagara in 1760.

⁴ See note to letter of January 27, 1758.

Town, on the Stores, Magazines &c^a, and I had the Arms brought out of Town, and Eleven Colours, which I send you under the care of Captain William Amherst,¹... I enclose with this a Return of the killed and wounded of His Majesty's Troops in this Island since their first landing,² as Admiral Boscawen intends to send away a ship very soon, it may happen, I shall not have it in my Power to give you an Account of the State & Condition of the Garrison and the Town, or am I yet able to Judge what the future Operations of this Campaign may be. if I can go to Quebeck, I will. I am with the utmost Respect Sir,

Your most Humble and most Obedient Servant

JEFF: AMHERST

ADMIRAL BOSCAWEN TO PITT³

Namur, Gabreuse Bay. th July. 1758.

Sir,

I send Captain Edgcumbe to wait on His Majesty with the Account of the Reduction of Louisbourg, the Isle of S! Johns, and its Dependences, as you will see by the inclosed Copy of the Articles of Capitulation: 4 the Garrison are Prisoners of War, and consist of twenty four Companies of the Marines, and the four following Battalions,

Cambise. 2d Battalion.

Volontaire Etrangere 2d Battalion,

Artois 2d Battalion

Burgoyne 2d Battalion

I shall send them to England as soon as I can prepare the Transports for their embarkation. The French Ships taken, and destroyed are the

¹ Brother of the commander-in-chief, and subsequently governor of Newfoundland.

² Mante gives the English loss in killed and wounded as five hundred and ten, and that of the French as three hundred and fifty. See p. 134.

³ A. and W. I., vol. 79.

⁴ The Articles of Capitulation are printed in Entick, III. 246.

Guns	
Prudent74, burnt by the Boats of the Fleet, und	dei
the Captains Leforey and Balfour	
Entreprennant 74, blown up and burnt by a Shot from	the
Marines Battery.	
Capricieux 64 burnt by the Entreprenant.	
Colebre64 burnt by the Entreprennant.	
Bienfasant64 taken by the Boats of the Fleet,	, &
towed from under the Walls of the To	
into the east harbour, by Capt. Balfo	ur
Apollo50 Chevre Biche Frigates Sunk by the Enemy across the harbour mouth to prevent the Fleet's going in	
Chevre Sunk by the Enemy across the harbou	ır':
Biche Frigates mouth to prevent the Fleet's going in	n.
Fidelle	
Diana36, taken by his Majesty's Ship Boreas.	
Echo26, taken by his Majesty's Ship Juno.	

I will not trouble you with a particular detail of the Landing and Siege, but cannot help mentioning a particular gallant action in the Night, between the 25th and 26th instant, the Boats of the Squadron were in two Divisions, detached under the Command of Captains Laforey & Balfour, to endeavour either to take or burn the Prudent of 74 Guns & Bienfasant of 64, the only remaining French Ships in the Harbour, in which they succeeded so well as to burn the former, she being aground, and take the latter & tow her into the Northeast harbour, notwithstanding they were exposed to the fire of the Cannon and Musketry of the Island Battery, point Rochfort, & the Town, being favoured with a dark Night: Our Loss was inconsiderable, seven men killed, and nine wounded.

I have given the Command of the Bienfasant to Captain Balfour & the Echo a Frigate to Cap! La-Forey; M! Affleck & M! Bickerton Lieutenants, who boarded the Bienfasant, succeed those Gentlemen in the Ætna fire ship &

Hunter Sloop.

I have only farther to assure His Majesty, that all His Troops and Officers both Sea and Land, have supported

the fatigue of this Siege with great firmness & Alacrity. I am Sir your

most Obedient and most Humble Servant

E. Boscawen.

PITT TO ADMIRAL BOSCAWEN¹

WHITEHALL. July 28th 1758.

Sir,

I am commanded to signify to you His Maty's pleasure that you leave Ten Ships of the Line, with a proportionable number of Frigates, which shall be in best condition, under the Command of such Officer as you shall judge proper, to Winter at Halifax in Nº America, where they are to be refitted for Service very early in the Spring, for which purpose the King's pleasure has been signifyed to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, to cause Stores, Provisions, Ammunition, with whatever else may be requisite, to be sent without loss of time to Halifax, where you, or the Officer whom you shall leave in Command will dispose of the Same in such manner as you shall judge best for the Service, it being His Majesty's Pleasure that when the Season will not admit of his Ships keeping the Sea any longer, they should be refitted with the utmost expedition, in order to be ready for Service in the ensuing Spring, as early as the Seas, in those parts, can be practicable; I have received your Letters of May 10th & 27th,3 and His Majesty waits with great Impatience for some News from You; We [are] having Accounts from France of your having landed the Troops on the Island of Cape Breton. I am etc:

W. PITT.

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 76.

² See letter of September 13, 1758. Commodore Durell was left in command on the Halifax station. See note to letter of January 9, 1758.

³ See letters of these dates.

GENERAL AMHERST TO PITT 1

CAMP NEAR LOUISBURG. July the 30th 1758.

Sir,

I send you enclosed the State of the Garrison of Louisburg,² exclusive of every thing belonging to the Fleet, my last Letter was of the 27th.

28th, I ordered all the Fascines Gabions and every other necessary forward for repairing the works of the Town, and

an immediate Survey to be made thereof.

29th, we began to work and to make roads to march the Artillery into Town, that it may be embarked. I sent with the late Governour to Mons! de Boisbere to call him in but I suppose it is likely he is already made off. a great Fogg all day.

30th, the Admiral sends me Word the Ship is ready to go,

I hope the Prisoners will be embarked in a day or two.

Time does not permit me Sir, to send a Plan of the Works, approaches &c.a., Captain Amherst shall take with him the most Compleat one the Engineers have been able to make. nothing yet settled as to future Operations. I am with the utmost Respect, Sir

your most Humble and most Obedient Servant

[EFF: AMHERST]

GOVERNOR LYTTELTON TO PITT 4

CHARLES TOWN. th August. 1758.

Sir,

On the st of April I had the Honour to receive two Letters from you dated the sh of December & one of the 7th of January. On the 28th of April I sent a Message to the Assembly wherein I proposed to them as the two most efficacious expedients to compleat the Regiment of this Province

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 79.

² A detailed account thereof is given in Entick, III. 249, 250.

3 See note to letter of July 23.

⁴ A. and W. I., vol. 71. ⁵ See letters of these dates.

to seven hundred Men to enable me by a Law to make draughts from the Militia, and also to frame another impowering the Magistrates to take up and inlist Vagrants; The first of these they rejected and adopted the Second, & a Law has been passed for that purpose accordingly; I have also doubled the Bounty Money, and shortened the term of inlistment to two years & I hope by the Activity of the Officers in the recruiting Service it may be possible before the Summer is over to make up the Number of four or five hundred Men, but I believe that will be the utmost; we have not at present three hundred on foot.

The Assembly in their Answer to my Message which I received the 9th of May Observed that there was then above Seventy five thousand pounds remaining unexpended of the money Originally granted for raising the Regiment and therfor thought it unnecessary to make any Additions thereto. In fact, Sir, a less Sum than that woud Suffice for the Pay of the Regiment for one year, supposing it were compleated

to Seven hundred Men.

The Supplies this Year are so great on Account of other Services amounting in the whole to the Sum of £174,507... 18...1½—that had I not applied to the Assembly, in Consequence of His Majesty's Commands signified to me in your Letter, to continue the Regiment on Foot I believe a considerable part of the Money in the Regimental Fund woud have been diverted to the Current Service, in order to lessen the Tax & only two or three Independent Companies have been kept in pay.

I think it my Duty to represent this to you Sir, that the Conduct of this Province may not appear in a less favourable

light than it may deserve.

P.S. I shoud have sent this Letter much sooner but for the Continuance of the Embargo in the ports of this Province. I layd it on the 20th of April and did not receive General Abercrombie's Letter of Notification to take it off, till the 2th Instant, tho' he wrote to me on the 8th of May, so very slow is the Post between this Place and New York. On the 18th of last Month the Merchants presented a Memorial

to me Complaining of the great damages they sustain'd by the long duration of the Embargo, and earnestly entreating me to take it off, but upon Consideration of the Matter, I acquainted them that His Majesty's Orders were such as restrain'd me from taking it Off, untill I shoud receive notice so to do from General Abercrombie. Some new regulations in the Post throughout the Provinces, I humbly conceive Sir, are highly Necessary for the King's Service. I am with the greatest respect Sir,

Your most obedient & faithfull humble Servant
WILLIAM HENRY LYTTELTON.

GENERAL AMHERST TO PITT 1

CAMP NEAR LOUISBURG. August the 10th 1758.

Sir * * * * * * * * *

On the 1st of August I went to the Admiral to talk to him of the bad news we had (the night before) received of M. Gen! Abercromby's having failed in his attack, and to try if we could do anything immediately, which he thought not possible 'till we could first get the Garrison embarked: the weather was very foggy and hindered the Transports from getting into the Harbour.

2^d. several of the Ships got in and the Admiral thought we should get the Garrison on board in two or three days. The Army employed in levelling the Trenches and repairing

the works of the Town. . . .

4th, I had the Barracks that remained, and Houses repairing to prepare them for the Troops. The Sloops I had sent to different Places to bring in the Inhabitants with their Familys, several of them returned, many Germans who are willing to stay, which I have told them they shall do, or that they shall be sent to Lunenburg in Nova Scotia, with which they are well satisfyed.

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 79.

² On Ticonderoga. See Abercromby's letters.

5th some thieving broke out in Camp. I was obliged to order a General Court Martial for the first time to put a stop to it in the beginning I desired some Sloops of the Admiral to send to Espagnolle, and St. Johns Island.

6th I ordered 200 Foot, 50 Light Infantry and 30 Rangers to Espagnolle under the Command of Major Dalling to bring away a quantity of square timber and shingles ready cut out for building Barracks for the Regiments of Cambis and Volontaires Etrangers. The Admiral and I concluded we could not go up to Quebec, so that I offered a large sum of money for pilots to go there, and took care it should be believed, that we were resolved to attempt it, which may have some small Effect in M. Gen! Abercromby's favour. the Army continued levelling the Trenches and Batteries and repairing the works of the Town.

7th Major Dalling sailed with the detachment under his Command, he is likewise ordered to bring away the french Inhabitants, who are able to carry Arms, and to leave the

Germans for the present.

8th Colonel Rollo embarked with a Detachment of 500 Men to go to the Island of St John's, I send you a Copy of my Orders to him, as I should do of Major Dalling's, but I was then so employed I had not time to write it twice, these Detachments are taken from the intended Garrison of

Louisburg.

oth several Accidents hindered the Garrison from being embarked 'till this day the oth . . . The Admiral and I wrote down our opinions and resolves as to future operations of which I send you a Copy. I shall leave Whitmore's Bragg's, Hopson's and Warburtons Regiments for the Garrison of Louisburg, the It because it is the Brigadier's Regiment, the 2t as they have no men left at Halifax, (these

Port Espagnol, now Sydney, on the island of Cape Breton.

² For a notice of Lord Rollo, see note to letter of June 8, 1761. Parkman says that he received the submission of the island, now Prince Edward's Island, and tried to remove the inhabitants, but in this last was unsuccessful. *Montealm and Wolfe*, II. 78.

four Reg^{ts} have the fewest of any in the Army,) the 3^{td} as they have two Companys at Newfoundland, and the 4th that Colonel Wilmot may be the second in Command at

Louisburg.

I intend to send my Regiment and Anstruther's who have many more sick than any Reg^{ts} here up the River St Lawrence and to add Bragg's to them for the expedition, and put them under the Command of Brigadier General Wolfe who will afterwards leave Bragg's at Louisburg, and take mine and Anstruther's to Halifax.

I am not yet determined, Sir, as to what two Battalions I shall send to the bay of Fundy and up the River St John's, I shall contrive it, if I can, to give Colonel Monckton 2 the command of that Expedition, and my present intentions are, if nothing should hinder me to go with Brigadier Lawrence and the six remaining Battalions to Joyn M: Gen! Abercromby.

I am with the utmost Respect Sir

Your most Humble and most Obedient Servant JEFF: AMHERST.

ADMIRAL BOSCAWEN TO PITT³

Namur, Louisbourgh Harb: th: Augt: 1758

Sir,

I have sent Mons! le Chev!! De Drucour late Governour of this place, Mons! De La Houliere Commandant of the Troops, in the Terrible; the rest of the Officers of the Garrison, the Officers of the French Men of War, and Seven Hundred Seamen Prisoners, and Garrison, in five Men of War & ten Transports, under the Command of Cap! Rodney. I am Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant

E. Boscawen.

² See note to letter of March 22, 1758.

Wolfe's orders were to destroy the settlements along the St. Lawrence, and disperse their inhabitants. Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe, II. 80. See, also, a letter of Wolfe's to his father, in Wright, Life of Wolfe, 455.

³ A. and W. I., vol. 79.

ADMIRAL BOSCAWEN TO PITT 1

NAMUR, LOUISBOURG HARB Hath: Augt: 1758.

Sir

I have embarked the French Garrison of Louisbourg & the Officers of the French Men of War, and they will sail today for England; and cannot help representing that I hope His Majesty will not suffer one of them to return to France on their Parole, till Colonell Schuyler of the Jerseys,² taken at Oswego, Cap! Martin of the Royal Artillery, and many others that Mons! Vaudreuil detains at Quebec, because he thinks they would be useful, have Leave to return: Cap! Martin was taken in 1755. I am Sir,

your most obedient & most humble Servant

E. Boscawen.

ANDREW OLIVER TO PITT³

BOSTON. 14 August. 1758.

Sir,

His Excellency Governor Pownall receiving Accounts that the Enemy in S! John's River 4 consisting of Canadians, the French People Subjects of Nova Scotia, and Indians had fitted out two Privateers, and taken some of our Vessells going to His Majesty's Forts at Chiconecto and Annapolis, also receiving by a Letter from Lieut! Governor Monckton 5 Intelligence of the Enemy's Intentions of making an Attempt upon George's Fort 6 near Penobscot Bay, and upon our Eastern Frontiers, has armed a Sloop as a Tender to his Majesty's Ship King George belonging to this Province, and is with these gone down to the Eastward. He has

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 79.

³ A. and W. I., vol. 71. ⁵ See letter of March 22, 1758.

⁶ On the site of Thomaston, Me. ened in 1752.

² See note to letter of April 28, 1758.

⁴ In New Brunswick.

The fort was built in 1720, and strength-

taken with him Ammunition and Stores for the Eastern Forts and a Company of Men which he proposes to throw

into Georges as a Reinforcement.

By this Measure his Excellency hopes to open and keep open the Communication to his Majesty's Forts in Nova Scotia, and to put our Forts and our Eastern Frontiers in such a Posture of Defence as shall prevent any Attempt, or render such if it should be made abortive.

The hurry and dispatch his Excellency made in getting down, prevented his having any opportunity of writing. I received his Commands, Sir, to acquaint you with the Circumstances of the Country and the Measures he has taken.

I have the honour to be with the greatest Respect Sir Your most obedient and most humble Servant

Andrew Oliver

Secretary of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay

GENERAL ABERCROMBY TO PITT 1

CAMP AT LAKE GEORGE. Auget 19. 1758.

Sir,

By my Letter of the 12th of July, I had the Honour to inform you, that I shou'd carefully watch the Motions of the Enemy, and prevent as much as possible, their Reaping

any Advantage from the Check we had met with.

For which Purpose it was judged necessary, first to furnish & strengthen the Breastwork, which had already been thrown up round our Line . . . which has accordingly been done; Having, whilst we were down the Lake, seen some Radeaus or floating Batteries, with which the Enemy, under Favor of a dark Night, might attempt the burning our Batteaus and Whale Boats, part of which must always be afloat, to be ready upon any Emergency, it was further judged necessary, to build a Sloop, not only for the Protection and Security of the whole of them, but also by cruizing to and fro, upon the Lake to watch and discover the Motions of the Enemy,

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 87.

² See letter of that date.

and annoy them in everything she can, wherein I should hope she may prove successfull, as she is a fine Vessel, 90. Tons Burthen, mounting 14 Six & four Pounders, with a Breast work all round to cover the Men; Capt. Loring, (who, with the Assistance of Col? Bagley, of the Massachusets Forces, built her) commands her . . . Having thus provided for the Security of our Camp, and the Protection of our Batteaus, I also endeavoured to keep the Communication between this and Fort Edward, as free and open as possible, and, that our Convoys might not be molested in going to and fro. . . . I likewise posted a Regiment of the Massachusetts Forces, Commanded by Col^o. Nichols, at the Half Way Brook; 1 and to avoid, as much as possible, being surprized by any Parties of the Enemy, I order'd Colo. Nichols to keep small Scouts out constantly, to see if they cou'd discover any Tracks, in which Case he should send me immediate Notice, . . . But not with standing these Orders, it seems they not only neglected sending out Scouts, but they also omitted giving me the timely Notice I directed, in case of their Tracking or falling in with any of the Enemy.

Which is evident from what happened the 20th of July, when ten Men of Nichols's Regiment, returning from hence to the Half-Way-Brook, at a small Distance from that Post, fell in with a Party of the Enemy, who scalped 9. of them, and pursued the tenth very close, but he nevertheless escaped and gave the Alarm; upon which, Part of them turned out, & went in Pursuit of the Enemy, whom they came up with and engaged; but by what I can learn, the Men soon left their Officers; which is more than probable from the killed, which are said to be 3 Captains, two Lieutenants, & one Ensign. whilst only 9 Private and two Non-commissioned

Officers; 3. wounded, & 7. missing.

Altho' this Affair happened about 10 in the Morning, yet I had not Advice of it till the Evening, too late to expect coming up with, or intercepting the Enemy; I nevertheless

¹ Flowing from west to east into Wood Creek, and crossing the trail about halfway between Fort William Henry and Fort Edward.

sent out a strong Party towards South Bay,¹ the way by which it was supposed the Enemy were to Return, but to no Purpose, for by the Time ours got there, they were passed.

... as I proposed to send Escorts less frequent, but much stronger, I detached Col? Hart, of New Hampshire, with about 500 Men of His Regiment to Fort Edward, the Command of which, I gave to Col? Montresor,2 who, before he left this, had settled the Signals he shou'd make upon Discovery of any of the Enemy, which, in his Way down, he left with the Officer commanding at the Half-Way Brook, from whence he was to repeat them, to give the Alarm to this Camp; and Col? Hart, with his Men, being arrived at Fort Edward, the 27th, Colonel Montresor acquainted him, that having a Convoy of upwards of 30 Ox Teams, laden with Provisions, which he shou'd send off the next Morning, he desired him to order 200. of his Men to make part of the Escort, but Colo Hart excused himself from it, saying, that his Men having marched the Day before, were too fatigued to undertake that Duty: . . .

Notwithstanding this, early in Morning of the 28th, Colo Montresor sent off his Convoy, under the escort of only 130 Men of his Command, besides about 40. others that were

returning from Albany.

But unfortunately, about Half Way from Fort Edward to the Brook, they fell in with a Party of 300. Canadians and Indians, who attacked them, killed and Scalped several, and took some Prisoners, in all about 50. — Some of our People having made their Escape, and got into Fort Edward, Col^o. Montresor immediately made the Signal & detached Col^o.

¹ A large lake, or pond, at the southern end of that swamp known as the Drowned Lands.

² James Montresor was at the head of the Engineering Department in the expedition against Ticonderoga. He was also chief engineer for Amherst, and superintended the construction of the fort at the head of Lake George in July, 1759. He obtained a grant of land in Vermont, and in 1772 became a colonel in the army. He died in 1775.

Hart with 300 of his Men, to support & reinforce the Escort.

The Signal having been heard, at the Half-way Brook, part of that Command likewise turned out, and proceeded to the Place where the Escort was attacked, where they fell in with the Rear of the Enemy, who, . . . made very free with the Liquor they found there, and had got themselves so intoxicated, that, by all Reports, it wou'd have been a very easy Matter to have cut them all to Pieces; especially as we might then be near 500. strong; but Col? Hart, whose Party consisted of 300., refusing to come up, the Enemy got off unhurt.

upon the first Intelligence of this Disaster, which did not reach me till 9 at night, by one of the Officers that had been detatched from the Half-Way Brook, and had continued on the Spot till the Enemy were retired, who assured me, that great Part of them were drunk, which, together with being loaded with Spoils, must greatly retard them in their Retreat. Upon this, I immediately ordered a Detachment of 700 Men, from among the Light Infantry, Rangers, & Provincials, whom I put under the Command of Rogers¹ and Putnam,² to proceed with them to a narrow Pass at the Wood Creek, by which, if the Enemy came that way at all, and were not already passed, we cou'd not fail of intercepting them; accordingly, I saw them all off, by two o'clock in the Morning.

But as the Place Rogers and his people were to land at, is within view of the Enemy's Look-Out, whence they might discover our Batteaus, & guess at the Number of our Men, as well as at our Design, & probably endeavour to prevent the Execution of it, by sending a larger Party against them, I order'd out another Detachment, of 1000 Men, from the

¹ See note to letter of June 17, 1758.

² Israel Putnam, commissioned as major by the colony of Connecticut in 1757. He served as lieutenant-colonel under Amherst, and went from Oswego to Montreal in 1760. In 1762 he commanded a regiment in the attack on Havanna. He served as major-general in the Revolutionary War until 1779, when he became a paralytic. He died in 1790.

whole Line, under the Command of Col^o. Haviland, to Cover & sustain Rogers and his Party, in Case of Necessity;

This Detachment went off next morning, . . .

On the 30th, Col? Haviland sent to acquaint me, that Rogers and his Party, without any opposition whatsoever, had got to their Place of Rendez-vous, but unfortunately too late by two Hours, the Enemy being already far on the Lake in their Canoes when they came up.

Several other Scouting Parties of Ours, having returned, about this Time, and reported, that they had tracked several small ones of the Enemy, from Half Way Brook down to Still Water,² which were supposed to come by the Way of South Bay; I immediately directed Col? Haviland, to detatch Rogers & Putnam, from whence they were, with 700 chosen Men and ten Days' Provisions, to sweep all that back Country & come in by Fort Edward.

And for the further Security of the Communication, between Albany & Fort Edward I gave the Command of

it to Brig! Gen: Prevost,3 . . .

He accordingly Commands at Fort Edward, where he took with him the 6 Companies of the 1st Battalion Royal Americans, and a Regiment of Connecticut Troops, Commanded by Col? Fitch, which, together with some other Provincial Troops, and part of the Additional Companies of the 42d, makes him about 1800 strong.

At Albany, one Company of the 42th, and some of the re-

covering Men.

At Half-Moon, Capt Cruikshanks, with one of His Majesty's Independent Companies of New York, and two Companies of Provincials.

At Still Water, a Company of the light Infantry, commanded by Cap! Arnot, & two Companies of Provincials.

At Saratoga, another Company of the Light Infantry,

¹ See note to letter of June 29, 1758.

² On the Hudson, opposite the Hoosick river.

⁸ James Prevost was made colonel of the 2d Battalion of the 60th regiment in January, 1756, major-general in America in 1762, and lieutenant-general in America in 1772. He died in 1775.

commanded by Capt Kennedy, and two Companies of Provincials.

At Fort Miller, about 40 Men of the Americans, under the Command of Capt. Lieut. M. Bean, & 2 Companies of Provincials.

And at Half Way Brook, 900 Men, consisting in 300 Regulars, one Company of Rangers, & 500 Provincials, under the Command of a Field officer of His Majesty's

Regular Forces.

All which Officers, at these different Posts, are directed to keep out constant Scouts; which requiring a great Number of Men, it is not possible, nor indeed necessary, to send such frequent Convoys, wherefore I have agreed with Brigg Prevost, not to send any under a Hundred Teams or Waggons, and then not to send them, but under a very strong Escort; to be relieved, half-Way, by one of like Strength from the Brook, and these last by our Piquets, at Halfway between the Brook and this; By which Means, I hope we shall prevent all future Mischief.

Pursuant to the Directions, I sent, Col^o Haviland, Rogers & Putnam made choice of their 700 Men, consisting in Light Infantry, Rangers, Provincials, and about 60 Voluntiers from among the Regulars, with whom they crossed over, from the first Narrows, (twelve Miles below this) towards South Bay, where Putnam, with 400, took up his Station, and Rogers, with the Remainder of his Party, lay in Ambush, a little above where the Wood Creek discharges

itself into the South Bay.

On Sunday the 6th Instant, a Canoe, with 6 Indians, was discover'd coming up the Creek, and notwithstanding all previous Enjunctions to the Contrary, one of the Provincials challenged them, upon which the Indians tacked, and got off: — About the same time, two boats were in with Putnam's advanced Guard, and by a like Stupidity escaped also. — Upon these unlucky discoveries, Rogers and Putnam joined, edging away towards Fort Edward.

When, on the 8th, within two Miles of Fort Ann,1 they

Y

¹ At the head of Wood Creek, now abandoned.

fell in with a Party of the Enemy, consisting of about 450 Indians, Canadians, and Marine Companies, under the Command of Mor Marin, one of their most famous Partizans; after a Dispute of two Hours, the Enemy gave way, with the Loss of about 150, two of which were brought in Prisoners, the Remainder Killed or scalped; of the latter they reckon 56, and at least 15 of them Indians Scalps. Our Loss is trifling; a few scalped or killed, which our People buried; Putnam 1 and one of His Lieutenants are taken Prisoners, and must have fallen into the Enemies Hands very early, as he was missed for a long Time, which proved the more unlucky, as 300. of the Connecticut Troops, which were under His Command, and of His own choice, scatter'd so, that there was no possibility of collecting them to pursue the Enemy, which might easily have been effected, with a visible Prospect of an entire Success.

I must not omit, doing Rogers the Justice to say, that he merits much to be commended, he having, by Report of a very good Officer in the Light Infantry, who was on this Party, acted the whole time with great Calmness and Officerlike. . . . By the two Prisoners taken at this last Affair, as well as by two or three Deserters, and three of our own People that have been Prisoners in Canada, for some Time, and have lately made their Escape, we are informed, that the Major Part of the Strength of Canada is at present at Tienderoga, consisting in between 12. & 13,000 Men,² vizt 8 Battalions of Regulars, at 500. each; 600 Indians, & the rest Colony Troops and Canadians. — That they have finished their Entrenchments, have erected two four Gun Batteries on them, of 8 & 4 Pounders, and, by felling a

¹ Putnam was carried to Canada and detained for three months, before he was exchanged. An account of his experiences among the Indians is given in Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, II. 124–127.

² Abercromby's fears made him extremely credulous. Montcalm says that two thousand four hundred Canadians were furnished him July 13, and recalled August 12, for the harvest. N.Y. Col. Doc., X. 761. Doreil, writing on July 28, from Quebec, places the number at three thousand seven hundred, all told. Ibid., 762. On August 31 this small force was again reduced. Ibid., 818, 819.

Number more of Trees, had considerably augmented the Abbatis, besides which, they were very busy in strengthening the Fort: -

That they have killed 1500 Men, at the Saw Mills, and as many more at the Portage; at both which Places they had thrown up a logged Breastwork, but have no Artillery. -

That the Fort was well stocked with Provisions, and provided with Stores, Ammunition and Powder; that their Artillery consisted in forty 6. 8. 12. & 18. Pounders; those of 18, being only 6 in Number, having come from Quebec, this Spring; and that they had also two Mortars, the one a 12., the other an 8. Inch.

That their Chief Engineer, had this Year contrived, a kind of Fourteen Oar Row Galley, called by the French Des Loups, carrying one twelve Pounder & 6 Swivels; of which they had already four on the Lake; and that on the other Side of the Saw Mill, they had a Couple of Batteaus linked together, on which was raised a Redoubt, carrying Swivels, but capable upon Occasion, to bear Cannon; that,

however, it then served only as a Powder Magazine.

They also agree, that in our Attack of the 8th, the French had no less than 40 Officers, and 500. Men killed and wounded. And added, that the French having had Intelligence, by one of our Deserters, that we were soon to attack them again, they were resolved to wait our Coming with all their Strength, and that Mor Delevy, with the Detatchment intended against the Mohawk River, as mentioned in my last, was still at Tienderoga; and that when they came away, which was about the 2d or 3d of this Month, there was not the least Likelihood, either of his or any other Person being sent from thence on that Enterprize.

From whence we might have great Room to hope, and expect, a successful Issue of Colo. Bradstreet's Attempt, if he is capable to undertake it, which I will not now venture to Answer, for; as by Letters from Brig! Gen. Stanwix and him, bearing date at Fort Herkermer's the 6th Instant, their

¹ Upon Cadaracoui. See note to letter of December 30, 1757.

Desertion and Sickness was so great, that they were very deficient of the Numbers proposed for that Undertaking; notwithstanding which, Colonel Bradstreet says, "shou'd the Numbers be reduced so low, as that we cannot make out, above 1000 Men, fitt to proceed to Lake Ontario, with

them I will do my best." Whereupon, I immediately wrote to Brig! Stanwix, desiring him to acquaint Colo Bradstreet, with the little Opposition he was likely to meet with, if the foregoing Intelligence might be depended upon; but that nevertheless, I did not mean to encourage his Undertaking, unless he himself shou'd find or believe it practicable; not doubting but, from his known Zeal for His Majesty's Service, his Knowledge of the Country, and his Experience, he wou'd exert himself to the utmost; And, with regard to the Desertion, I recommended it to Brig! Gen. Stanwix to write to the different Governors of those Provinces whose Troops had deserted, begging them to interpose their Authority, in the same Manner, as Governor Pownall had done, who, even without any Application, upon the very first Notice of a Number of Col. Doty's Regiment having gone off, issued a Proclamation, whereby, those Deserters were not only deprived of all Assylum within any part of the Province, but those that shou'd harbour them or receive their Arms, shou'd be presecuted with the utmost Rigor of the Law, as shou'd likewise the Deserters, if they did not, within a few Days after the Proclamation, surrender themselves; but that if, within the above limitted Time, they gave themselves up and returned to their Regiment, he, the Governor, promised to interceed with the Commander in Chief for their being forgiven; which has had so good an Effect, that when I heard last from Governor Pownall, near 80. of the 190. that deserted from that Regiment, had already surrender'd, and were on their Way back to their Regiment. . .

At my Return from Tienderoga, to this Camp, being desirous to know who, and what Number of our People, might have had the Misfortune to fall into the Hands of the Enemy, during & after the Attack of the 8th, I accord-

ingly wrote to the Marquis de Montcalm, enclosing a List of the French Prisoners we had taken in the Affair of the 6th, & begging, in Return, a List of Ours.

By the Marquis's Answer of the 24th, it seems, that altho' he has the Command of His Most Christian Majesty's Forces, yet he is not vested with the power of treating; & therefore he had forwarded a Copy of my Letter to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, whose Answer thereto he shou'd transmit me as soon as it came to His Hands; Meanwhile, he acquaints me, that they have no more than 34 Prisoners, who are wounded, and have been sent to Montreal, where,

he assures me, great Care shall be taken of them.

On the 12th Instant, by a Flagg of Truce, I received the Marquis de Vaudreuil's Answer, bearing Date the 1st of the said Month, proposing, that the Exchange shou'd not be confined to the Officers alone, but extend to all the other Prisoners in my Power, and yet, a few Lines further, he himself seems to limit this Exchange to the Prisoners taken since the 9th Augt, 1757. - from whence I understand, he means to exclude all those taken prior to that Time, which I cou'd by no Means agree to, without Particular Instructions from His Majesty, which I shall wait for before I proceed any further in this Affair.

But as I was obliged to make some Answer, I offered a general exchange of prisoners taken since the Commencement of the War, which I am conscious he can not accept, without owning the forfiture of the Capitulation of Fort William Henry & subscribe to the validity of its being set aside, which it is not likely he will do.

And with Regard to his proposal, I tell him I can not accept it without Instructions from my Court, before whom I shou'd lay the whole & wait their Decision; but that meanwhile, this need not put a stop to the exchange of the Officers, for which Purpose I enclosed further Powers to Col? Schuyler, not to be over scrupulous in Regard to equalities of Rank.

At the same time that I received the Marquis de Vau-

dreuil's Proposals I also received a Letter from the Marquis de Montcalm, relative thereto, and proposing some Prelimi-

naries in Case I accepted of them . . .

Two Days thereafter, I was informed of the Arrival of a second Flagg of Truce, which proved to be Capt: Bougainville, one of the Marquis de Montcalm's Aid de Camps, from whom he brought me a short letter, acquainting me, that he had deferred forwarding my Letter to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, because he apprehended, I had not well understood one part of that Gentleman's Letter, which Captain Bougainville cou'd easily explain, & that I might give

entire Credit to what he shou'd say to me.

Captain de Bougainville told me no more than what I had myself foreseen, to wit, that a general Exchange cou'd not be accepted of on their Part, without Instructions from their Court, alledging for his Reasons, those I mentioned before in Regard to the Capitulation; But he said he thought we might accept of their Proposal, for altho' it appear'd, by the Marquis de Vaudreuil's Letter, that all Prisoners, taken prior to the 9th Augst 1757, shou'd be excluded the Benefit of the Exchange, yet he was confident, Mo! Vaudreuil meant no more by it, than their own Prisoners, & wou'd readily give up all Ours, since the Commencement of the War; yet as I saw no Credentials on the Part of Mor Vaudreuil, to make such a Proposal, & besides, that I had much rather be authorized to make the Exchange, I begged Leave to abide by my Letter, & immediately dismissed Mor de Bougainville with a short but civil Answer. . . .

In my Secretary's Letter to M! Wood, by the last Packet, there is an Application for a fresh Supply of Money being immediately sent out, for carrying on the Service in these Parts, which I have now the Pleasure to acquaint you, there will be no Occasion for at present, as I understand, by a Letter from the Deputy Pay Master General, who went lately down to New York, to prepare against the next Musters, Subsistence for the Troops, that the Contractors Agents were ready, not only to supply him with the Subsistence, but that they very soon expected a Remittance of

Money from home, besides which they wou'd be able, in two Months, to supply him with £20,000 Sterling, & that what Money may be wanted at Halifax, M! Apthorp Sen! at Boston will take care to supply it, on my Order. By which Means, I shall be able to obey His Majesty's Commands relative to the Demands at Nova Scotia.—

Upon Maj! Gen. Amherst joining the Fleet off Halifax, he wrote me a Letter, acquainting me, with his Arrival. . . . Upon my return to this Camp, or shortly after, I sent him a Narrative of what had befallen us, with an Account of our then Situation; and desiring that, if he succeeded in his Attempt, and cou'd not, for Reasons, proceed in the ulterior Operations pointed out to him by His Instructions, I cou'd wish, that after having disposed of such of the Troops under His Command in the Manner prescribed to him, he wou'd send the Remainder here by the way of New York: As, if that should be possible before the Harvest, when the Canadians and Indians always go home, we shou'd then be able to make a second and I flattered myself, more successful Attempt; . . .

I have the Honour to be, with the greatest Respect, Sir, Your most obedient & most Humble Servant JAMES ABERCROMBY.

GOVERNOR SHARPE TO PITT 1

FORT FREDERICK 2 the 27th of August 1758.

Sir

Not knowing whether General Forbes might at this time have an Opportunity of sending Letters to England or indeed whether he is able to write & having just received Advice of a Vessel's being about to sail from this Province I do myself the honour to inform you that about 3000 of the men whereof he has the Command & Half the Train of

² See note to letter of February 23, 1757.

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 71. Printed in Md. Arch., IX. 248.

Artillery are advanced to a River called the Lawrell hannon 1 which according to the best Account I can get is 70 miles beyond Ray's Town 2 (the Place of general Rendezvous) & about 35 miles to the Eastward of Fort Du Quesne, the last of those 3000 men marched from Rays Town the 23dd Inst & there still remains at that place about 1800. The Army in general is very healthy the Pensilva New Levies & those that came from N Carolina are the only Corps that have any Reason to complain of Sickness. But I am sorry to inform you that General Forbes has not yet left Shippensburg (which lies upwards of 75 Miles to the Eastward of Rays Town) being laid up there by the Flux with which he was attacked more than a month ago at Carlyle. He tells me however in a Letter dated the 23d Inst that he now finds himself recovering & that he hopes he shall be strong enough to travel in a few Days, he has likewise intimated to me that he expects a sufficient Quantity of Stores & Provisions will be carried on to the Fort which Sr John St Clair is building at Lawrel-Hannon 3 in less than a Fortnight that being determined to proceed directly afterwards to Fort Du Quesne & willing to march with as strong a Force as possible he should be extremely glad if I could garrison Fort Cumberland with Militia for three weeks or a Month that he might draw all the Virginia Troops from that post to strengthen the Rear of his Army. As our Assembly when they met last made some Resolves declaring our Militia Law to be obsolete or not in Force & denying that I have any Authority or Right with the Advice of the Council to march any of the militia even if our Law was in force unless in Case of an actual Invasion or as they construe that Expression unless a very large Body of the Enemy was actually in the Heart of the Province. I have told the General that I am afraid

³ This was called Fort Ligonier.

¹ An Indian settlement called Laurel-hanne, or "middle-stream," where the present town of Ligonier is situated. Hulbert, *Historic Highways*, V. 18.

² Now Bedford in Pennsylvania. See map in Winsor's Mississippi Basin, 375.

no more of the Militia would be prevailed on to come thus far if I was to attempt to carry 'em to Fort Cumberland,1 but I am endeavouring to get 200 or 250 Voluntiers to accompany me to Fort Cumberland & to stay there till the Affair is decided, & I am in hopes that I shall be able to march hence with that Number in about a week, which will be as soon as the General will want to draw the Virginians from Fort Cumberland. In that Case I shall appoint one of the Field Officers of our Militia to take the Command at this Fort, which has been garrisoned by Militia ever since I came hither the 15th of June, & I have the Satisfaction to inform you that altho they were dissuaded from coming out & encouraged to desert since they have been here by several Members of our Assembly who seem to have made it a Point that if the Gentlemen of the Upper House would not accept such a Bill as they had offered they would on their Parts obstruct all measures that should be taken for the Defence of the Province, yet the several Companies whose Lott it has been to march hither & to take their Tour of Duty have paid due Regard to my Commands, & altho several Parties of the Enemy have been discovered this Summer within the Limits of the Province None of them have ventured down among the Inhabitants nor presumed to do any Mischief near the Settlements. In the Letter which I addressed to you the 18th of May 2 I intimated that General Forbes being desirous to have the Maryland Troops kept together untill the End of the Campaign was inclined to advance them a Sum of Money on the Credit of the Province in hopes that the Assembly would at their next Meeting agree to pay it & would moreover raise a Sum of Money to satisfy all the Claims that both the Officers & Men may have on the Province at that time; Agreeable to this Scheme he has now advanced near £2000 Currency or £1250 Sterling which notwithstanding it is not a third part of what is justly due (they not having received any Pay

² See letter of that date.

¹ See note to letter of May 3, 1757.

from the Province since the 8th Day of Oct last) yet it has enabled & encouraged them to proceed & to continue with the Rest of the Troops to the End of the Campaign, & as they have all been in the Service a considerable time & are inured to Hardships & Fatigue I flatter myself they will answer the General's Expectations. I have said that by the money which General Forbes had advanced the Maryland Troops they will be encourraged to keep together till the End of the Campaign but I should have observed that the Officers had before at sundry times advanced the Men of their respective Companies all the money that they were Masters of & had likewise contracted pretty large Debts in order to supply their Men with common Necessaries. In a Letter which I took the Liberty to write the 22d of Octr 1 I told you that our Assembly had Resolved that they would not thereafter provide for the Support of any men that should be placed as a Garrison in Fort Cumberland. Upon their coming to this Resolution I wrote to the Earl of Loudoun & to Brigadier Stanwix advising them thereof & desiring them to order some other Troops to take Possession of that Fort. The Winter being pretty far advanced before my Letter reached His Lordship who happened to be in the most distant part of N. York, & the Regular Forces being so disposed of in their Winter Quarters as made it very difficult & inconvenient for any of them to March to Fort Cumberland at that Season, His Lordship desired me to keep ours there untill the Spring if it was by any means possible & that no Encouragement might be wanting His Lordship permitted me to promise them that if the Assembly should refuse to pay them at their next meeting he would, & Colo Stanwix with the Earl of Loudoun's Approbation gave the Person that had been employed by the Assembly to supply our Troops with provisions till that time a Warrant or Orders to continue to victual them as long as they should be kept at that Post. Relying on the Earl of Loudoun's Engagement the Officers scrupled not to advance Money for their

¹ See letter of October 22, 1757, and notes.

Men as long as they had any themselves & they have been victualled almost ever since upon the Faith of General Stanwix's Warrant. In March last when the Earl of Loudoun received orders to leave America I submitted a State of the whole Affair to General Abercromby & beg'd him to let me know whether he could undertake to fulfil the Earl of Loudoun's Engagement & in Case he could not I intreated him to order some other Troops to Fort Cumberland lest ours should abandon it which I begun to be much afraid of as I found that one of the Members of our Assembly had been among the Men & taken some pains to make them believe that they would never be paid for doing Duty there & moreover that they could not be thereafter punished for Deserting. I had never the pleasure to receive an Answer from His Excellency General Abercromby, but Brigadier Forbes wrote to me soon afterwards & desired me to keep the Maryland Troops at Fort Cumberland at all Events giving me Room at the same time to think that General Abercromby would impower him to fullfil the Earl of Loudoun's Engagement in Case the Assembly should still adhere to their former Resolution or decline to perform what was required of them by your Letter of the 30th of Decr & which they had then under Consideration.2 The Assembly having broke up in May last without granting any Supplies I wrote once more to General Forbes in behalf of our Troops & the Person that had victualled them 3 & I afterwards waited on him, but by what I can find General Abercromby being of opinion that the Province of Maryland ought to pay their own Troops declines to concern himself at all with them; the Person that has victualled them is in the mean time driven to the greatest straights by having advanced about £4000 Sterling (which is more than his whole Fortune) upon the Credit of the Earl of Loudoun's Letter to me & in pursuance of General Stanwix's Warrant to himself, & unless something should be done for our Officers by a new Assembly which is to meet the Beginning of Octr I am

¹ For Sharpe's letter, see Md. Arch., IX. 156.

² Ibid., 167, 175. ³ Ibid., 176, 181, 188.

persuaded that many of them will be thrown in Prison for the Debts they have contracted on their Mens Account as soon as the Campaign is over & they return to the Province. Beside the Maryland Troops as we call them which consist of 320 Men I have prevailed on a Company of 40 Voluntiers all good Marksmen & used to the Woods to join the Army, they are commanded by a Gentleman that has served upwards of two years as a Lieutent in our provincials, I understand that these left the Fort at Lawrel-Hannon the 22d Inst & went towards the Ohio in order to make Discoveries, by a Delaware Indian that is well acquainted with the Country & that has lately attached himself to the English being their Guide. I am Informed that all the Cherokees & other Southern Indians which were with our Forces except three are returned home, but there are I understand about 40 of the Catawba Indians just come from Carolina to Winchester & it is said that these intend to join & continue with the Army during the Campaign.

[No signature.]

GENERAL AMHERST TO PITT 1

Louisburg. August 28th 1758.

Sir

The last time I did myself the Honour of writing to you

was on the 12th Instant.²...
On the 13th I fixed on Cape Noir ³ for the Hospitals; the Ships with the Prisoners could not get out of the Harbour; we had very bad weather; began to repair the Island Battery and continued at the Works of the Town.

15th the Quarter Master out at day break, the Tents were dry about ten, when the General was beat, Assembly half an hour after and March at Eleven, leaving Guards at the Provisions, Hospitals & Artillery: the Regts encamped,

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 79. ² See letter of that date. ³ Just south of the peninsula on which the town of Louisburg is situated.

the Right a little on the right of the Miray Road, Left at the Barosoy: 2 the Ships with the Prisoners sailed out of the Harbour this morning.

16th I acquainted all the comanding Officers with the Destinations of the Regiments, it was very bad weather, in

so much that the

17th it put a stop to all work and made it impracticable

to have any thing done this day.

18th I ordered the Redoute by the Miray Road to be levelled it being too near the Town to be a Guard for the Security of the Environs, we had fine weather this day, all the Carpenters at work in repairing the tops of Houses to make them wind and water tight, and removing the Hospitals.

19th the Admiral told me the Ships would be ready to go

to the River S! Lawrence. . . .

* * * * * * *

21st it blew hard, but Amherst's, Bragg's, and Anstruther's embarked at twelve o'clock, I gave Brigadier General Wolfe his Orders a Copy of which I send you enclosed.3

22nd Brigadier General Lawrence set out for Halifax, the Affairs of the Province demanding his presence there. we began to level the *Epaulement*, the Ships with the Troops warped out of the N. E. Harbour, but the wind would not permit them to sail. . . .

24th Otway's & Monckton's embarked at twelve, Lawrence's and four Companys of Rangers ordered likewise for Halifax could not embark for want of shipping being ready.

25th the Weather so bad the Troops could not embark,

I took in all the Out Posts.

26th Lawrence's Battalion and the Rangers embarked, I gave Colonel Young his orders with Letters from B. General Lawrence, and Colonel Monckton, Copys of which I send you enclosed, Sir C. Hardy could not get out. at night I received a list of the Transports for three Reg. ...

27th Royal Webbs & Fraziers embarked, fine weather, an

¹ See note to letter of June 23, 1758.

² See note to letter of July 23, 1758.

³ See note to letter of August 10.

Accident happened at the rear of Forbes's, a Barrell of Powder blew up and wounded a Sergeant and five Men. at night I received a List of Ships for the other two remaining

Regts.

28th Forbes's and Lascelles's embarked at one o'clock in the Afternoon. S. C. Hardy with the Fleet under his Command sailed at three, the last of the Regiments being now embarked, I am going on board His Majesty's Ship Captain that no time may be lost in getting out of the Harbour as soon as possible; I write this as Admiral Boscawen tells me he will dispatch a ship immediately to England.

I likewise enclose to you, Sir, a Report of the condition of the works with a Plan of the Town, and I send you these Letters, & as the plainest way of shewing you everything that is done.

Admiral Boscawen is shipping off the Inhabitants as fast as possible, I dont know their Numbers exactly; I should think there were on this Island about me exclusive of S! John's,2 from whence I have as yet no Account.

I have done and ordered everything, as I am convinced is the best for His Majesty's Service, I hope I am not deceived. I am with the utmost Respect Sir

Your most Humble and most obedient Servant JEFF: AMHERST.

P. S. I have acquainted Governour Pownal with my Intentions of taking five or six Batts to Boston to Joyn General Abercromby.

GENERAL LAWRENCE TO PITT 3

HALIFAX IN NOVA SCOTIA. Sept. 5th 1758.

I have the Honour to acquaint You that about the latter End of the last Month I returned with Major General Amherst's Approbation to inspect the Province Affairs in

¹ For the St. Lawrence. ⁸ A. and W. I., vol. 71. ² See Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe, II. 78.

the Absence of the Lieutenant Governor Who is gone with a Body of Troops to take possession of S! John's River in the Bay of Fundi, on my Arrival I found everything perfectly quiet here and I make no doubt but all the Northern Colonys and this in particular will soon be highly sensible of the happy Consequences resulting from the Success of his Majesty's Arms in the Reduction of Louisburg I humbly beg leave Sir to congratulate You upon that important Event and to assure you that I shall make it my Study as much as it is my Duty to improve to the Utmost the favourable Opportunity thereby given us of peopling and well establishing the evacuated Lands in this Province and of reaping every other Advantage that may be derived from the removal of so dangerous and inveterate a Neighbour.

The Members of the General Assembly elected in July last to represent the People are appointed to hold their first Meeting in the beginning of the next Month, and I thought it highly expedient that either the Lieutenant Governor or myself should be present on that Occasion; I purpose in his absence remaining here untill the most Material Business be dispatched and then following Major General Amherst according to his Instructions, Who is gone with the Troops under his Command to join General Abercromby to the

Westward.

As I am perfectly perswaded Sir of your extream Candour condescension and Goodness in permitting the Meanest of His Majesty's Servants to lay before you such Hints as out of his Attachment to the Honour of the Crown He conceives may contribute ever so little to the Advancement of the Publick Welfare, I flatter myself I may without danger of incurring Your Displeasure tresspass for a Moment or two on your time precious as it is; what I would humbly offer to your Consideration is, whether, in case the Reduction of Quebec should be the Object of a future Enterprize, it would not be of Importance towards the Success of it that a competent knowledge be first obtained of the River St Lawrence the Navigation of which, tho' confessedly so intricate, I have never been able in the Course of eleven Years residence in

America, to discover that we have any tollerable Conception of, the Method of becoming Masters of it seems obvious and easy, and the Expence that would attend it in no degree proportionate to the Advantages the Nation may partake of now and perhaps for Centurys to come; Let three or four. armed Vessells drawing little Water be sent under the Protection of a Frigate into the River as early as possible in the Spring each having on board an able Surveyor, and each perfectly well found as to Ground Tackle and whatever else may tend to their Security in anchoring as it shall be necessary in spite of the Snow Storms and Tempests which infest that River early in the Season, let the Vessells be Schooners in preferance to any other kind as being the most handy and so weatherly that they gain to Windward even when laying to, let these be diligently employed in surveying sounding taking Land Marks and such other Observations as belong to that Branch, beginning on Account of the Ice at the Mouth of the River in the Month of May and so proceeding upwards until the End of the Month of June when the Fogs come on, within which Time the whole Survey of the River to the Upper part of the Traverses where the greatest Nicety of the Navigation is supposed to be may be compleated and tho' not perhaps with the Utmost Accuracy, yet so as to remove in a great Measure the Apprehensions that Seamen seem to be too justly under about the Shoals, Rocks, Currents Gales and a variety of other Dangers and difficulties so universally dreaded for want of Pilots, and if as I have said tho' the whole can be accomplished within the Space of Time the Vessells and the Pilots on board them thus made will be seasonably ready at the Mouth of the River to take Charge of his Majesty's Ships and the Transports employed upon any Expedition next Summer against that part of Canada.1 . . . I have the Honour to be Sir,

Your most obliged most obedient and most humble Servant

CHA^s LAWRENCE.

¹ The English expedition of the following year depended upon French pilots, who were captured by the simple stratagem of raising a French flag.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR MOORE TO PITT 1

SPANISH TOWN. Sept. 6th 1758.

Sir,

I have here Inclosed a Letter I lately received from the President of Guatimala,2 in answer to one I wrote dated Janry 12th, 1757, The Copy of which I have likewise sent: That I might be under no uncertainty in regard to the delivery of the letter, it was sent by His Majesty's Ship Wager to Cap! Preston and by him given to the Spanish Cruizers [?] at Port Omoa,3 and I kept a Vessel waiting almost [?] three weeks for an Answer without being able to obtain one, which induces me to believe that some Attempts were made to suppress information by the Officers who had it in charge, as they are quite [?] sensible their Behaviour must occasion Complaints against them, or that the President was unwilling to say any thing concerning so Unwarrantable a Proceeding. I some time after repeated the Complaint to Don Blass de Barreda, who commanded the Spanish Squadron in these Seas, and sent him a Copy of the Letter I had wrote to the President; Through his means I have obtained the Answer here inclosed, by which you will observe that M! Wall's letter, on which we entirely depended, for the Security of our people at the Bay of Omoa [?] bears with them, so different a Construction which we have put upon it, that we are again exposed to all the Insults of their Guarda Costas, and the few miserable Inhabitants of the Bay must be drove from thence in a very short time, as it is not in my

¹ Chatham MSS., Bundle 98. Henry Moore was lieutenant-governor of Jamaica from 1755 to 1762, in which year he was made a baronet for his services. In 1765 he was appointed governor of New York, where he died in 1769.

² In the middle of the eighteenth century the Presidency, or Captaingeneralcy, of Guatemala seems to have extended from 7° 54′ to 17° 49′ N. lat., thus including Central America south of Campeche and the northern coast of the continent of South America. See Bancroft, *History of Central* America, II. 713, 714.

³ A port in the Bay of Honduras, on the north coast of the present state

of that name.

power to give them any Assistance, without disobeying His Majesty's positive Orders in regard to the Subjects of Spain; One of the many Letters I have received from the Bay-men, is here forwarded to you together with the Order sent to them by Don Melchior de Navarete Governor of Campeachy. As so considerable a branch of trade as that of the Logwood depends entirely on the Inhabitants of the Bay being properly supported, I have taken the earliest Opportunity to lay their Situation before you, that His Majesty's resolution [?] may be known upon it. I am Sir

Your most Obedient and Humble Servant

H. Moore.

GENERAL FORBES TO PITT²

FORT LOUDOUN. the 6th September. 1758.

Sir

In my last letter I had the honour to acquaint you, of my proceedings in the new road across the Alleganey Mountains, and over Laurell Hill,³ (leaving the Rivers Yohiegany and Monongahola to my left hand) strait to the Ohio, by which I have saved a great deal of way, and prevented the misfortunes that the overflowing of those rivers might occasion I acquainted you likewise of the suspicions I had of the small trust I could repose in the Pennsylvanians in assisting of me with any one necessary, or any help in furthering the Service that they did not think themselves compelled to do by the words of your letter to them.

As likewise of almost the total defection and desertion of the Southern Indians (except 80) who after the receiving of their presents &c, have all returned home not without committing egregious outrages upon the scattered Inhabitants of the

Northwest parts of Virginia in their return.4

¹ The province next north of Guatemala.

² A. and W. I., vol. 87.

³ See note to letter of August 27, 1758.

⁴ See Sharpe's letter of August 27, and note. These outrages led to retaliations on the part of the frontiersmen, of which the "Cherokee War" was

the eventual outcome.

I thought fit to recapitulate this least my letters dont come to hand regularly as there is no post in those parts, nor any regular one anywhere except from Philadelphia, By New York, to Boston; and even there one may be three Months in receiving a Letter, that ought to be delivered in ten days, besides my letters must now go by Merch! Ships, which makes the delivery very precarious. I hinted to you in my former, of my endeavouring to bring about a Treaty betwixt the Delaware Indians &c2, neighbours to those Provinces, but of late drove into the Arms of French and removed to the Ohio, as the Indians demands were but few, and to me seeming not unreasonable, I thought the reclaiming of those Tribes would be of very great Service to the Publick in weakening of the French Interest by seting a good example to other Western Tribes of Indians, who it is said have all the Inclination to be well with us, wanting only an Opportunity, and an Assurance of protection to declare themselves for us, or at least to remain neutralls.

This is almost brought to a Crisis, their Chief Men being hourly expected at East-town upon the Delaware, where the Govern! of Pennsylvania and Jersey are to meet them and settle Preliminaries; I wish it could have been done sooner, and that they could have had time to remove, because now my scene of offensive Operations must imediately be put in Execution, when it will be hard for me to distinguish betwixt our friendly disposed Indians, and our real

Enemies.

My advanced post consisting of 1500 Men, are now in possession of a strong post 9 Miles on the other side of Laurell Hill,² and about 40 from Fort Du Quesne, nor had the Enemy ever suspected my attempting such a road till very lately, they having been all along securing the strong passes, and fords of the rivers, upon General Braddock's route.

My greatest distress and what may be a real hindrance to

² See note to letter of August 27, 1758.

¹ This conference was held at Easton from October 8 to 26. See Col. Rec. of Penn., VIII. 275 et seq.

me for some days is the provisions, which altho' every care imaginable has been taken by contracting for great Numbers of Waggons and Baggage horses at very great Expence. Yet all has not been able, to supply the present consumption, and the maintaining of three Month's Provisions in store to carry along with us — This I early foresaw and acquainted the Govern!, and the Assembly Commissioners of my Doubts, arising from the villiany of the Inhabitants in furnishing their worst Horses at so critical a juncture, — By contract they being obliged to carry 2000! w! Waggon, such a length of road in such a specified time, but cannot carry above 1400 at most and take up four and twenty days in place of twelve to execute it in.

I have wrote the Govern^r in very strong Terms upon this head, beging he would shew it to their Assembly now sitting, in order that they may fall upon Methods of sending from Philadelphia, and parts adjacent, three Months provisions at once, they having Carriages in abundance, and I promising to pay so much p. hun^d. wt for everything delivered into our Generall store at Raestown Camp¹ — This I hope is so reasonable that they will comply with it, altho' sad experience makes me dread that their dilatory Measures, and contrary factions, will so retard, so absolutely necessary a transport as to throw me, and the little Army I have the honour to command, into very great distress.²

I was greatly afraid that the unfortunate stop Genl! Abercrombie met with, might have enabled the French to strengthen themselves with regulars in those parts, but from every Intelligence I can possibly get, any reinforcements that have joined, or are likely to join them, are the West Country Indians, who returned from Ticonderoga, who likewise may tire at Fort Du Quesne, but of this I hope to be better informed, when still a little nigher them, by the Means of deserters of whom as yet we have not had one come in, and

¹ See note to letter of August 27, 1758.

² A letter of Forbes to Governor Denny, of September 9, is printed in Col. Rec. of Penn., VIII. 167.

there is but little trust to be put in the best Spies you can find, or in the small scouting parties that you send for discovery,

& no truth at all to be expected from an Indian.

The Govern! of Maryland I am greatly obliged to, having personally acted with the greatest zeal for the Service, first by sending 50 Volluntiers all good Woods Men to join me, and now by marching 200 of his Militia (I believe contrary to his Assembly's inclination) to Garrison Fort Cumberland for one month or to the 12th of October. As he stands bound for the pay and the keeping together the Maryland Troops at Fort Cumberland from the 8th of October last, (to the begining of May, that I retained them in the Service of the Government) by which that Fort and Country was prevented from falling into the Enemy's hands, all which he did by positive Orders from the Earl of Loudoun, and the same repeated in very strong terms by Brig! Gen!! Stanwix to him, and even to the Commanding Officers of Companys.

This has induced me to give him to the Extent of £1500 Sterling, for the present support of his Credit, and the further carrying on of the Service which I hope will meet with your Approbation, as Govern' Sharp assures me at the same time, that in his Opinion, the Maryland Assembly now sensible of their by past bad behaviour, will upon their first Meeting

pass a law for the payment of all those Accounts.

Govern! Dobbs, without previously acquainting me, did send 200 Men by Sea up to join me, and was to send 100 more by land, the first 200 are joined, but the Governour writes me that having neither money nor Credit in their province, he was unable either to furnish them with Cloaths, or send pay along with them, and desires that I would furnish all those and any other Necessaries wanting, and that he would reimburse that expence, out of the first Monies paid by the Crown to that Province, hitherto they have had the King's Provisions, but as they are in want of everything,

¹ See letters of Sharpe to Forbes, Md. Arch., IX. 240, 263; and letter of Forbes, Ibid., 261.

I must either give them a kind of Cloathing, or get no Service from them.¹

I vainly at the beginning flattered myself that some very good Service might be drawn from the Virginia, & Pennsylvania Forces, but am sorry to find that a few of their principle Officers excepted, all the rest are an extream bad Collection of broken Innkeepers, Horse Jockeys, & Indian traders, and that the Men under them, are a direct copy of their Officers, nor can it well be otherwise, as they are a gathering from the scum of the worst of people, in every Country, who have wrought themselves up, into a panick at the very name of Indians who at the same time are more infamous cowards, than any other race of mankind.

If it should please God to grant Success to His Majesty's Arms in their Attempts upon the Ohio, and which I think can't well fail, I shall be greatly at a loss how to dispose of Fort Du Quesne, whether to blow it up, and destroy it and the whole Settlements thereabout, or to keep it and leave a Garrison there for the Winter, the execution of the first is as easy, as the second appears to be attended with many difficulties, all which must naturally occur to you, from its great distance from any of the inhabited parts of those Provinces, and consequently the great difficulties of either supporting it, or supplying it with Necessaries during a long severe Winter.

I have consulted the Governours of Pennsylvania and Virginia upon this head,² and to know what Number of Troops they could leave there in case it was thought proper to preserve it, to which I have had no positive answer, but I know the Pennsylvania troops will disband the first of December unless their Assembly make a new Provision for their Support.

In a few days I shall have most of my Troops moved forward towards the head, there to be in readyness of seizing the first favourable Opportunity of marching to the Banks

¹ See Dobbs's letter to Pitt, of December 22, 1758, and Col. Rec. of N.C., V. 1014.

² See letter to Governor Denny in Col. Rec. of Penn., VIII. 224.

of the Ohio, which I now have in my power of doing, by a march of 48 hours, and if refused the Carriages demanded from the Pennsylvanians,1 or they appear too tardy, and dilatory in the execution thereof, I shall most certainly try it upon flour, and rice, with the Assistance of what live Cattle

we can carry forward with us.

My health, that has been extreamly precarious these two years, has of late been very near brought to a close, by a long and severe attack of a bloody flux, which has reduced me to a state of weakness that I am obliged to travel in a Hurdle carried betwixt two Horses but I hope the animating spirits of being able to do the smallest Service to my King and Country, will leave nothing undone on my part that can anyways contribute to the Success of so glorious a cause. I have the honour to be, with the highest esteem and regard, Sir

Y' most obed! & most humble Serv!

Io: Forbes.

GENERAL ABERCROMBY TO PITT²

CAMP AT LAKE GEORGE. Sept 8th 1758.

The Day after my last Dispatches, we had Accounts of the Surrender of Louisbourg on the 26th July, . . .

Maj! Gen! Amherst, not having I suppose, received the Letter I mentioned in my last to have sent him, . . . he only tells me "I cannot yet judge in what Manner we shall be able to pursue the future Operations of the Campaign, I hope it will be found practicable to get to Quebec, which is what I wish the most to do." In this uncertainty I thought it incumbent on me, to lose no Time in renewing my Application for Assistance this way, in case it shou'd not be found practicable to get to Quebec; wherefore I immediately wrote to M. G. Amherst on that subject, . . .

And as, in obedience to His Majesty's Commands, not to

² A. and W. I., vol. 87.

¹ See letter to Governor Denny in Col. Rec. of Penn., VIII. 167.

lessen the Number of those allotted for the Service to the Eastward, I had deprived myself of several Artillery Officers and Men, which we stand in great need of on this side, particularly the Officers, I desired Maj. Gen. Amherst, to send me a Proportion of them, along with the Troops that shou'd come this Way.

I also desired some Engineers, the want of which I likewise feel, as Lieut. Col^o Montresor ¹ is not able to undergo the fatigues of a Campaign, . . . This, together with the Loss of M! Clark, some employ'd in building a strong Post at the Oneida Carrying Place, and others gone with Brig! Gen. Forbes, leaves me but very few here able to conduct a Siege. Eight Days thereafter, long before that Letter cou'd reach Major General Amherst, I received one from him, bearing Date the 10th of August, (a Copy of which you have enclosed) containing a Disposition and Destination of the Troops under his Command, Six Battalions of which, with Brig! Gen. Lawrence, he intended to send to Boston, whither he intended likewise to go, unless something unfore-

seen might stop him at Louisbourg.

Upon the Receipt of that Letter (by Capt. Macintosh whom I have sent to join Brig! Gen. Forbes) I immediately dispatched Captain Abercrombie, one of my Aid de Camps, to Boston, with two Letters directed to M. G. Amherst, or the Officer commanding those Six Battalions, the one, in case of their Arrival, to conduct them hither; the other, upon a Supposition that he might meet with them at Sea (for which Purpose he is directed to hire a small Vessell and cruize for them at a certain Distance) to order them directly to New York. . . . I have accordingly wrote to Lieut. Gov! De lancey, acquainting him with the Probability of such a Body of Troops coming his Way, and begging his Assistance in holding everything requisite for their Reception, and the Forwarding them up here in the greatest Readiness. —

I also wrote to Gov! Pownall, requesting that if they landed at Boston, he wou'd lend them all the aid in his Power, by

¹ See note to letter of August 19, 1758.

impressing Carriages and procuring them whatever else

they might stand in need of on their Way hither . . .

If they arrive in Time, which I hope they may, and from the Intelligence we can get, it be found practicable to make a second Attempt upon Tienderoga, I shall not fail to improve the Advantage of this Reinforcement, and with their Assistance & that of the Divine Providence, I hope we shall prove more successfull.

But notwithstanding the Reduction of Louisbourg, and the proposed Diversion up the River St Lawrence, I cannot learn from the Deserters lately come in, nor from the Reconnoitring Parties I have sent out, that any of their Troops have been recalled; Indeed some of their Canadians and Indians are gone to reap their Harvest, but are under Orders

to return at a Moment's Warning.1

All the Deserters agree that Mons! Montcalm expects us to return, and is prepared for our Reception, having encreased and strengthened their Works considerably; from which, and nothing material having happen'd since Roger's Affair of the 8th, mentioned in my last, I apprehend they mean to act on the Defensive.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil, in his Letter of the 27th August, which I received the 2th Instant, by a Flagg of Truce, has, according to my Expectations, declined the General Exchange I proposed, to him, as also the Particular one of the

Officers, . . .

By a Letter from Brig! Gen: Stanwix 2 of the 20th Ultimo, Lieut. Col. Bradstreet with the Troops under his Command, amounting as per the enclosed Return to upwards of 3000 Men, had got to Oswego, and were that very Day to embark on Lake Ontario in their way to Caderaqui, which I just now learn they have had the good Fortune to reduce; how

¹ See note to letter of August 19, 1758. ² See note to letter of June 17, 1758.

³ Fort Frontenac, on the northern shore of the lake, at the outlet through the St. Lawrence river. Bradstreet levelled the fort and destroyed the French fleet, thus cutting off Fort DuQuesne from its sources of supply. See note to letter of February 14, 1758.

true, I will not venture to assert; but I must own, that notwithstanding I have no Accounts of it from Colonel Bradstreet himself, yet I cannot refuse giving some Credit to it, as the Letter which brings this Intelligence is wrote by a Lieutenant of one of the Independent Companies (who was with Col? Bradstreet) to Brigadier General Stanwix's Brigade Major, and is so Circumstantial, as you will see by the enclosed Copy, that I do expect to receive the Confirmation of it, every Moment upon the strength of which I have sent an Express to Brig! Gen: Forbes, to acquaint him with it, and also have order'd a Packet to be held in Readiness to sail at a Moment's Warning, that you might have the earliest Notice of it in my Power; and for that Purpose I have prepared this Letter, that I may have nothing to add but my hearty Felicitations on this great and advantageous Acquisition.

I have the Honor to be with the greatest Respect Sir, Your most obedient and most humble Servant JAMES ABERCROMBY.

PITT TO GENERAL AMHERST 1

WHITEHALL. Sept. 9th 1758.

Sir,
On the 18th past, Capt. Amherst delivered to me the Favor of your Letters of the 11th & 23th June; & 6th, 23th, 27th, & 30th July; and on the 4th Inst Capt Hathorn arrived with that of the 10th past; all which were immediately laid before the King. I cannot sufficiently express the Satisfaction your Success against the very important Fortress of Louisburg, gave His Majesty, and the King has commanded me to acquaint You with His full and entire Approbation of your whole Conduct, during the Course of the Siege of that Place. His Majesty has the firmest reliance, that, by the Blessing of GoD, the further Operations of so fine an army, which has suffered such a small Loss, will be attended with like Success in the Prosecution of the Ulterior Objects, which, by your Letter

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 76.

² See letters of those dates.

of the 10th past, the King is informed, you and Admiral Boscawen, have determined to pursue, and which His Majesty hopes, from your nearer view of things, and Judgement formed from further Enquiry on the Spot, may best answer the great Purposes of His Majesty's Service in America; and the King doubts not but that all the said Operations will

be pushed with the utmost Ability and Vigor.

It is the King's Pleasure, that you should, in the Manner you shall judge most proper, acquaint the Officers and Men, under your Command, with His Maj^{tys} Satisfaction at Their brave and good Behaviour, which, as you justly observe, must always insure Success. I cannot conclude without adding my most hearty Congratulations on the great Honor you have acquired, and assuring You of the sincere Part I shall take in every thing, that can contribute to the Increase thereof: I have the Pleasure to acquaint You, that the News of your Success has been received with all possible Demonstrations of Joy, throughout the whole Kingdom & that all due Justice is done to the Material Service, which you have rendered to Your Country.

I am &c:-

W. PITT.

PITT TO GENERAL WHITMORE 1

WHITEHALL. Sept. 9th 1758.

Sir,

The King having been pleased to appoint you to be Governor of the Island of Cape Breton, and the Town and Fortresses of Louisbourg, and the territories thereunto belonging, and also of the Island of S! John's, I herewith transmit to you the Commission, which His Majesty has signed for that purpose.

I am persuaded It is unnecessary to recommend it to you to be constantly attentive to the Defence, Safety and Preservation of the Important Places, the King has entrusted to your care; and you will, at the same time, take all proper Measures

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 76.

² Now Prince Edward's Island.

for the most convenient Accommodation of the Officers and Soldiers, that shall be left in the several Garrisons under your Command: And you will not fail, by every Opportunity, to transmit exact Accounts of the State and Condition of the Places, and the Troops, and to send the earliest Notice of any Supplies, that shall be wanted from England, so that the same may be provided in due Time: And I am to inform you, that Orders were immediately given for Three Thousand Chaldron of Coals to be forthwith sent to Louisburg for the use of the Garrisons, under your Command, during the ensuing winter.

I am &ca.

W. PITT.

GOVERNOR POWNALL TO PITT 1

Boston, Sep. th. 1758.

Sir,

The five Regiments coming here with Major General Amhurst in order to Reinforce General Abercromby are now coming into this Harbour, Six Transports are got in, many off, and Yesterday by the Deputy Quarter Master General I received a Letter from M. Amhurst acquainting me of his being off. I have prepar'd Provisions, Camp Necessaries, Ox-Carts and everything for their immediate March to Albany 180 Miles, and sent off the Massachusetts Sloop with the Deputy Quarter Master General, and General Abercromby's Aid de Camp to acquaint Mr. Amhurst therewith. The Aid de Camp came here the day before Yesterday in order to receive them. Amidst these important Affairs I am ashamed to mention the inglorious Efforts which we poor Governors after having put our whole Strength into the hands of others are able to make upon any Occasion which calls upon us for the King's Service. Of ten thousand Men belonging to this Province employ'd in the Public Service, not five hundred remain under my own Command to

cover a Frontier of above 200 miles, and all our Sea coast without the Assistance of one Regular or one King's ship, instead of which I sent last month off the Bay of Fundy an Arm'd Sloop to open the Communication between this and His Majesty's Fort Cumberland and Annapolis in Nova Scotia, which a Privateer from S! Johns River had interrupted by taking two of the Provision Vessells Bound there. The Indians which have not this Year joined the French forces either at Ticonderoga or Cape Breton in any great numbers to act with them have made several Attempts upon the Frontiers of this Province. Three on our Western Frontier and two on the Eastern, but I have the satisfaction to acquaint you that not one Garrison, not one Settlement is broke up, a few unwary and obstinate People have lost their Lives, but we have maintained every Inch of our Frontiers —

On August the 5th I received from Col! Monckton ¹ Intelligence that the Enemy at S! John's River were meditating an Attempt against George's Fort ² and our Eastern Frontiers. The Party to consist of French with the united Force of the S! John's and Penobscot Indians who were to Redevous at Mount Desart whence they were to proceed in the two Sloops (which they had lately taken) to Georges.

I immediately fitted out a Sloop as a Tender to the King George, went down to Georges, reinforc'd the Garrison, with 33 Men (which was all I had left) with Provisions, Stores & Ammunition, visited the rest of our Fortified Posts, put the Frontier in the best Posture I was able as to Defense, & proceeded directly by two Routs to Mount Desart, sent the Sloop on the Inside went with the ship on the Outside the Islands thro' Penobscot Bay. The Sloop met with one party of the Indians who run with their Canoes into the Creeks and Woods, and the Sloops Boat pursuing them too far was taken. As soon as the Sloop . . . joined me at Mount Desart I returned with her to Georges Fort & while I lay there kept all quiet, the day after I came away the Enemy came out of the Woods and made their Attack but without

¹ See note to letter of February 14, 1757. ² See note to letter of August 14, 1758.

the least Effect, Finding also all the Inhabitants upon their Guard they attempted Nothing further, Killed about 70 Cattle and went off with the greatest precipitation. For want of Rangers it was not in my Power to prevent this Attack, I have on this Occasion the Satisfaction to see that the Measures I was able to take have rendered it abortive, for not one Life is lost, not one single Settlement destroyed, and his Majesty's Frontiers maintained.

I have the honor to be with the greatest Respect and Duty

Sir

Your most Obedient & most Humble Servant

T. Pownall.

ADMIRAL BOSCAWEN TO PITT 1

Namur, Louisbourg Harb. 13th Septem: 1758.

Sir,

My Letter to you by the Defiance (of which I herewith send a Duplicate) will acquaint you with the Disposition of the Fleet and Army, since which the Hynde is returned from S! Johns with the inclosed Account of the Number of Inhabitants in that Island, Lieu! Colonell Lord Rollo writes that they have most of them brought in their Arms & will embark for Europe,² I am preparing Transports for that purpose, and hope to get them all from thence this Season, by the Number of Inhabitants on this Island, and the plenty of Corn and Cattle they have, you will see the great Importance of it to the French, by the best Accounts I can get, they have been the only Supply for Quebec of Corn and Beef since the war, except what has been brought from Europe, having at present above ten Thousand horned Cattle, and many of the Inhabitants say they grow each of them twelve hundred Bushels of Corn annually, they have no other Market for it but Quebec, they have been an Asylum of the French Inhabitants of Nova Scotia, and have from this Island con-

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 79.

² See notes to letters of August 10 and 28, 1758.

stantly carried on the inhuman practise of killing the English Inhabitants, for the sake of carrying their Scalps to the French who paid them for it, several Scalps were found, in the Governour's Quarters when Lord Rollo took possession, I have wrote to his Lordship to send as particular an Account of the Island, its produce, and if possible how this great Encrease of Inhabitants came about, as this Island hitherto has been thought of small Consequence, and not to have above four or five hundred Inhabitants, endeed Mons! Drucourt informed me there might be near fifteen hundred at the Surrender of Louisbourg to his Majesty last war, this Island was included in the Capitulation as it now is, but for want of proper Methods it never was in His Majesty's Possession, the Inhabitants standing to their Arms & distroying those that came to take possession of it, at that time the French had no regular Troops in it.

By the Grampus Sloop that arrived here the 4th instant I received yours of the 28th of July, signifying his Majesty's Commands to me, that I should leave ten Sail of Line of Battle Ships with a proportion of Frigates under the Command of a proper Officer, in obedience to which I propose to leave Commodore Durell with the following Ships and Frigates, Vizt, Princess Amelia, Bedford, Vanguard, Devonshire, Prince Frederick, Captain, Prince of Orange, Pembroke, Sutherland, Norwich, Squirrel, Hynde, Kennington and Hunter, the Scarborough and Nightingale must go to the Western parts of North America to cruize against the

Privateers.

I hope to clear the Inhabitants out of this Town in about fourteen days, when I shall leave it for England, with the Namur, Somerset, Orford, Bienfaisant and Lightning Fire Ship, leaving Orders for Sir Charles Hardy to follow me with the Royal William, Lancaster, Juno & Etna Fireship.

The York and Arc-en-Ciel sail tomorrow with the remaining French Officers and some other Prisoners from hence.

I have sent two Frigates to Cruize in the Streights of

Belleisle, to intercept any of the Enemy's Ships that may escape Sir Charles Hardy. I am, Sir

Your most obedient & most humble Servant,

E. Boscawen.

GENERAL AMHERST TO PITT²

CAMP OF MARLBOROUGH. Sept 18th 1758.

Sir

My Voyages by Sea are far from being expeditious, when I did myself the Honour of writing to you last, . . . from the Harbour of Louisburg, I was in hopes [to be] at Boston sooner than I was, we sailed that day with a fair wind but in the evening it changed.

* * * * * * *

4th I wrote to Governour Pownall and to General Abercromby, sent Major Robertson Deputy Q. Master General in the Pyloe to Boston as one single ship would probably arrive sooner than the Fleet, to see if G. Abercromby had sent me any Orders, and to prepare everything that I might not loose a Moment's time in disembarking, . . .

* * * * * * *

8th the wind fair, saw the Land, we were off Cape Sable.
9th so many of the Transports astern that we could not make all the use of the fair wind that we wished for.

* * * * * * *

12th in the morning saw Cape Anne ahead, the wind fair, we got within 12 miles of Boston, Mr Robertson & Captain Abercromby came on board, brought me a Letter from the General of the 5th from Lake George, to repair with the Troops by land to him.

* * * * * * *

14th all the Ships got up and the Regiments landed and encamped on a Common Joining the Town; it was impossible

² A. and W. I., vol. 79.

¹ The strait separating Newfoundland from Labrador, and connecting the Gulf of St. Lawrence with the Atlantic Ocean.

to hinder the People giving the Soldiers Rum in much too great quantitys.

15th I halted to settle everything for the March.

16th, I marched and encamped at Watertown, sent Capt:

Abercromby with a Letter to General Abercromby.

17th I marched and encamped at Sudbury, and this day I marched and Encamped at Marlborough, . . . I enclose you a Copy of the Route I intend to take, unless I shall find any alteration necessary, on nearer Examination: I march again tomorrow at day break for Worcester; and then halt a day. I shall make all the Expedition I can to Joyn General Abercromby, carry bread and drive Cattle with the Troops, and I hope all will go on well. the Detachments of these five Batts that I ordered from Halifax, did not arrive at Boston before I marched, I have left orders for them. I have been obliged to leave 236 sick that came out of the Transports at Boston, there are missing 3 of the Royal, I of the Forbes's, 5 of Lascelles's, and 4 of Webb's, the consequence of Rum, and recruiting in this Country. I believe I have quite got the better of the Rum, and that we shall have no more bad Effects from that.

I am with the utmost Respect Sir

Your most Humble and most Obedient Servant

JEFF: AMHERST

PITT TO GENERAL ABERCROMBY 1

WHITEHALL, Sept. 18th 1758.

Sir,

On the th past, Capt? Cunningham arrived with your Letters of the th June & th July, which were immediately

laid before His Majesty.

The King saw, with much Concern, that an Enterprize of the greatest Importance, had unhappily miscarried, with so considerable a Loss of Brave Officers and Soldiers;—At the same time, the great Spirit, which the Troops shew'd

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 76.

² See letters of these dates.

in this unfortunate Attempt, gives the King just room to hope for future Successes; And I am ordered by His Majesty to direct you to express to the Officers and Soldiers, His Perfect Satisfaction in their Behaviour.

I have the Pleasure to acquaint you, that the King particularly approves your Care and Diligence, in making the best and speediest Provision for the wounded Men; and His Majesty will wait with Impatience for the Event of the very important Enterprize against Cadaraqui, on which Service you mention having detached Colonel Bradstreet, an Officer, who, from his great Activity and Knowledge of the Country, is so well qualified for an Attempt of such Difficulty.²

I am etc: —

W. PITT.

PITT TO GOVERNORS IN NORTH AMERICA³

WHITEHALL. 18th Sept. 1758.

Sir,

The King having judged proper, that Major General Abercromby, should return to England; and His Majesty having been pleased to appoint Major General Amherst to be Comander in Chief of the King's Forces in North America, with the same Powers and Authorities; I am commanded to signify to you His Majesty's Pleasure, that you do apply to, and Correspond with, Major General Amherst, on all matters relating to the King's Service, and that you do obey such Orders, as you shall receive from him, in the same manner as you have been directed to do with regard to the several former Commanders in Chief in North America; and you will, from Time to Time, give Major General Amherst all the Assistance and Lights in your Power; in all Matters relative to the Command, with which the King has Honored him.

¹ See letter of September 8, 1758.

² See note to letter of December 30, 1757, for an account of Bradstreet.

³ A. and W. I., vol. 76. Printed in Col. Rec. of R.I., VI. 168; N.Y. Col. Doc., VII. 345; Penn. Arch., III. 518.

I am particularly to signify to you His Majesty's Pleasure, that in Case Major General Amherst or the Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces, shall, at any Time, apply to you to lay an Embargo on all Ships within your Province you do strictly Comply with the said Request, for so long a time as the Commander in Chief shall desire.

I am &c².

W. PITT.

GOVERNOR POWNALL TO PITT 1

Boston, Sept. 25. 1758.

Sir,

In my letter of the 12th Inst2 which I had the honor to write I acquainted you of the means I had taken to forward M. General Amherst on his March to join General Abercromby. On Saturday last arrived here Detachments (from Several Regiments) which to the Number of 300 had been left at Halifax. M. Amherst was in hopes they would have arrived while he was here or so soon after as to join him, but their not arriving here 'till eight daies after he march'd and not being able to march till tomorrow makes an Interval of ten daies that renders it impossible for them to overtake Mr Amherst by the ordinary Course of a March. I have therefore ordered 300 horses to be impress'd and send them all forward on horseback by which they may join him before He arrives at Albany. And as we may expect near two Months good weather yet, I cannot entertain the least doubt but that His Majesty will be in Possession of both Carillon at Ticonderoga and F! S! Frederic at Crown Point this Autumn.

I have the honor to be with most profound respect Sir, your most obedient & most humble Serv!

T. Pownall.

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 71. ² See letter of that date.

GOVERNOR WHITMORE TO PITT 1

Louisbourg Sept^E. 30th 1758

Major General Amherst sailed from this Place for Boston Augt. 30th, and having left Me to Command here I have the Honour to lay before you such Occurrences as have hap-

pened.

Our shott and shells during the Siege had so pierced and Destroyed all the Houses that not One was left Habitable, and the Barracks were all burnt to the ground, so that our first Care was to provide Materials for repairing the Town in such Manner as to lodge the Troops before the Winter setts in, for this purpose General Amherst before his Departure purchased and contracted for a considerable Quantity of Boards, Shingles &c. — Such part of the Defences too, as our Cannonading had beat down, were (under the Direc-

tion of the Engineers) Repaired.

The Severity of the Winters here Renders Fewell a most essential Article towards the Support of the Garrison, I therefore as quickly as possible hired proper Vessells and sent them to the Coal Mines about Ten Leagues distance from Hence, and to the places where the French had Firewood Cutt, and they have been employed with the greatest Dilligence in that Service, and I shall continue them in it as long as the Season will admitt being apprehensive that notwithstanding our utmost Dilligence We shall fall short in that Article. Partys of Men were necessary to be sent on these Services, which being extra Duty, very Fatigueing, and Expensive, I have allowed the Officers some three, some Four, and some Five Shillings a day. —I find it necessary to continue a Party of one hundred & thirty Men at the Colliery all the Winter to Cover the Miners, and to work themselves in digging of Coals, for the next Year; and for their better Security in case of any Attempt of the Indians, I have directed a Blockhouse to be built.

Generall Amherst was hardly gone before I found that a much larger Quantity of Materials for Repairs were neces-

sary, than He had time to provide, he had given the Direction of the Company of Carpenters who were raised in New England for this Expedition by Col: Meserve 1 on his Death to Colonel Gridley, and also appointed Him to survey and Direct all the Repairs . . . with his Assistance I purchased what Things were further necessary, which could be gott here; and what could not I ordered to be sent from Boston . . . I have . . . with the Approbation of General Amherst, appointed Cap! Christopher French Town Major, Will." Neal Town Adjutant, William Buttar Secretary and Naval Officer, John Foxon Judge Advocate, Frederick Albert Strasburger Captain of the Port, & William Russell Barrack Master, being all Men who are fitt for their several Employments, and who I take the Liberty of Recommending to be continued in Them . . . I have appointed Cap! Lieut. John Campbell Treasurer, and have Instructed Him that he is to pay no Money to any Person without a Certificate from the Officer of the Department for which the Demand is made that the Charged, are Received, and of which together with the Price I myself have Approved, and a Receipt from the Proprietor, that he has received the Money; . . . we have hitherto been supplyed by my warrants on Robert Porter Esq^r deputy pay master.

Care has been taken by Admiral Boscawen to Ship off all the French Inhabitants of this Island and St Johns, of which He will I doubt not Impart a particular Account, so that I

need not Trouble with a detail thereof.1

I have wrote to my Lord Barrington Secretary of War, to whom I have sent Returns of the Troops left under my Command.

I hope by the first Opportunity to have his Majesty's Pleasure Signifyed to me, as to the Establishment of the Place, and also Instructions for my Conduct in every Particular. I am with great Respect, Sir

Your most Obedient and most humble Servt.

EDW. WHITMORE.

¹ See note to letter of March 16, 1758.

¹ See Boscawen's letter of September 13, 1758.

GOVERNOR POWNALL TO PITT 1

Boston. Sep. 30. 1758.

Sir.

The good People of his Majesty's Province Massachusetts Bay animated with a Zeal for his Service and placing their honour and ambition in their Royal Master's Approbation, Have by an Address from both Houses of Legislature, desired me to Represent to his Majesty their Services and the different circumstances under which they thus exert them. They have too high a sense of Gratitude for the Favors they are constantly receiving from his Majesty, to suppose that anything can be wanting to excite the Motive of his Goodness, and too just a Confidence in the Wisdom & Zeal of his Administration to think anything needful to be suggested to them in their behalf. They put entire trust in his Majesty's Gracious Promises, they only beg leave to lay their Services at his Feet, They only desire, if their Services are approved,

that they may be enabled to continue them.

This Province for many years has been the Frontier and the Advanced Guard to all the Colonies against the Enemy in Canada — This Province has alway stood its own Ground, and Defended and Preserved his Majesty's Dominions. was once able to do this. It was once the Channel of all the European Trade to America, and the Mart of all the North American Colonies. But the heavy Bur'thens which its Trade and Labour sustain'd to support this Service, and the Consequences of its Taxes has turned the Channel of this Trade to New York, Philadelphia, & Rhode Island, all which Places it once Supplied, and all which from the inequality of their Taxes have rose upon its Ruin and are become its Rivals. But even yet, it would have found Resources for this Service in the Zeal, the Multitude and Industry of its People. But the Weight and Burthen of its Taxes and the hard Services of its People, while it thus exerts itself, have had a still more ruinous and destructive Effect

upon its very Vitals. — Those of the Inhabitants which border upon the Surrounding Colonies, seeing their Neighbours in ease and unincumbred while themselves were loaded and almost sinking under their heavy burthens and worn out with their Severe Services, Have in Concurrence with such whose Interest it was to gain them, gone into measures to desert a labouring and sinking Province; Thus it was that this Province lost all its fine flourishing Towns and Numbers of People on Merrimack River, which went over, and have been Assigned over to the Government of New Hampshire.1 Thus has this Province lost those faithful and populous Townships assigned to the Government of Rhode Island.2 Thus have several large Towns revolted from us and gone over to, and been received by the Government of Connecticut, have ceased for some time to pay Taxes and do Duty to this Province, and are labouring to get this Desertion and Revolt confirmed by the Crown.3 Thus have Numbers of our Inhabitants gone over to New York and rended our Borders with a Matter of Mischievous and bloody Dispute after it hath been twice solemnly and finally settled.

This Province thus wasted and thus Dismembred in loosing its Trade, hath lost the Sinews, and in being deprived of its Lands and People, has lost the hands of War, yet retaining still the same unvaried and unremitted Spirit, hath

still stood foremost in its Master's Service.

This Remains of a once flourishing and large Province hath in this War, as in all others taken the Lead in the King's Service. In the year 1755 the Expedition under General

² In 1746. The towns thus assigned were Warren, Bristol, Tiverton, Little Compton, and Cumberland (Barrington). Palfrey, History of New

England, IV. 587.

These towns were Woodstock, Enfield, Suffield, and Somers. The secession took place in 1749, and was confirmed by the Crown. Palfrey, V. 196, and Trumbull, Connecticut, II. 248.

¹ By a decree of the Privy Council, in 1741, the boundary dispute between Massachusetts and New Hampshire was terminated, and a considerable portion of the border towns of Salisbury, Amesbury, Haverhill, Methuen, and Dracut transferred to the latter colony. Sanborn, New Hampshire, 170.

Johnston cost this Province	87,058 · · 4 · · I
the expedition in 1756, under	
Gen! Winslow	101,613 . 11 11
the expedition in 1757, under Lord	
Loudoun	48,319 16 3
Besides Fire Arms and Powder bought	
for and used and expended in said	
expeditions	5,364 11 11
in all	242,356 . 4 . 2
Of which the Province has been reim-	, ,
bursed by the Crown	70,117 1 3

So that this Province (besides supporting a number of Forts and Subsisting and paying the Garrisons thereof & keeping up a Number of Scouts upon a Frontier of 200 Miles, together with the Support of his Majesty's Government which is annually about 45,000. Besides supporting and maintaining a stout Twenty Gun Ship granted to His Majesty and employed in his Service at a large Annual Expence, which this Spring took four of the Enemy's Store Ships bound to Louisbourg and Quebeck) had expended in March, 1758 in the General Service 172,239 . . 2 . 11 To pay which sum the Province in March 58 stood charged with 84,943 . 8 . 10 levied and apportioned in the year 1757 to be paid in June 1758.

with 73,000 to be levied in 1758, to be paid in 1759. with 73,930 to be levied in 1759, to be paid in 1760. Which sums so to be levied in those respective years, were exclusive of the Annual Support of Government in each of

those years.

Notwithstanding, The Province thus deprived of great part of its Trade, Notwithstanding it had been thus deprived of its Lands and People, who should have borne their Share in its Taxes and Services, Notwithstanding the heavy Debt which it already laboured under, and was charged upon the following years, notwithstanding it had lost so many of its Children in the many unhappy expeditions, and had at that time 1000 included under Capitulation not to serve, and great

numbers exempt by Proclamation for former Services, notwithstanding the great number in the Province Service, in the King's Service and King's ships, Transports, Batteaumen, Carpenters and Rangers under the General Service, in all above 2500 Men, already employed, Notwithstanding these difficulties in the Circumstances of the Province, notwithstanding these inabilities, yet such was their Spirit against his Majesty's Enemys and their Zeal in his Service - such their Confidence in his Majesty's Measures and his gracious Promises, that upon his Majesty's late Call upon them in March last, they granted Pay, Cloathing and Subsistence for 7000 Men for this Year's Campaign, and made very strict and severe' Acts by which those Men were draughted from amongst the Freeholders of the Province, which together with those employed in the other Parts of his Majesty's Service, is a draught of near 10,000 Men out of the effective fighting Men in the Province.

To defrey which Expences and the Debts then outstanding - the General Court in their Session in May 1758. levied and apportioned upon Polls and Estates the Sum of 82,190... 6.8 for the Year 1758 and Ordered a further tax of 103,930 . . . for 1759, A Tax of 100,000 for 1760, and 70,809 . . 13 . . 4 for 1761, so that the Province has contracted a Debt of 356,930 — for which it pays 6 per cent, The whole of which must be paid by the end of the Year 1761, exclusive of any provision made for the Support of the Current Charges of Government in 1759, 1760, 1761. Which if estimated by what it has in fact come to in 1755, 1756, 1757, will amount to 132,000. A sum of 488,930 equal to 366,698£ Sterling to be raised in this and the three Years next ensuing, exclusive of any Expeditions or Offensive Campaigns in those years. That it may be known (for I dare say it will hardly be conceived) how hard this Service presses upon the Inhabitants — I beg leave Sir to inform you, that Most of these Soldiers in the Ranks are Freeholders, who pay Taxes, that these are the Sons of some of our Representatives, the Sons

of some of our Militia Colonels and the Sons of many of our Field Officers, and other Officers now doing duty as Privates in the number I have this Year raised — and that the Sons of some of our principal Merchants — one who pays £500 Sterling per Annum Taxes were impressed for the Same. That it may be known how heavy this Debt now contracted lyes upon the Subject, I beg leave Sir to inform you, that every Poll within the Province pays per Annum two Dollars and \(\frac{1}{5} \). And that the Tax upon Estates Real and Personal reckoned at six years income arise in the Town of Boston to thirteen shillings and two pence in the pound, and even in most of those Towns which have encreased in their People and Cultured Lands since the last Valuation, to above four shillings, besides Duties Excise and Impost that raises the European Value of Goods to near 60 per cent, within the Province. If this Service be compared with that of any other of these Colonies (except Connecticut) it will be found to exceed. If then, the declining Circumstances (to which this Province is reduced by thus exerting itself) be compared with any one of those its Rivals, their Abilities will be found to Exceed.

Thus has this Province exerted itself, and thus have these repeated Exertions, as Efforts so disproportionate to its natural Strength must necessarily do, at length reduced it to that Condition that while they have expended to the Utmost extent of their Annual Income, and have charged succeeding years with Debts that are equal to that Income, that very Income decreases, they are therefore totally disabled to proceed with those Efforts which the Service requires and which their Zeal would Exert. They make no claims upon the Mother Countrey for what they have done, they have done their Duty, they derive no Merits from these Services, they seek no Rewards for what is past: They are happy in reflecting that they have been able hitherto to do their Duty, they lament their inability to proceed with the same Efforts of it. Yet zealous to continue the same Efforts and the same Services. They hope to be enabled yet to act, And they found those hopes on his Majesty's gracious Intentions of a Recompence

in proportion to the Vigour wherewith they have acted. And they are conscious that in that Proportion they have

alway stood Foremost in their Master's Service.

If the Country has been hitherto preserved by the Efforts which this Province has made, as is a certain fact, If those Efforts are still required and necessary, as they certainly are for whatever share the other Provinces may have bore this always has and always must be the Main Anchor. Province must be restored by some recompence or reimbursement to that State wherein it was able thus to exert itself -Without such the Province will not only be unable to exert any further such like Efforts at present, But the Government will never be more able to make an Offensive Effort upon any Occasion howsoever pressing. The Province has not only exceeded its Resources but the Faith of the Government is at stake: The Assurance of a Recompence is the Fund on which the Money was advanced and if this fails the Government is Bankrupt. So that not only the Preservation of the Countrey by this Province being able to continue its Efforts, but the Preservation of the Government of this province itself depends upon that Recompence.

Not only my Duty to the Province but my Duty to his Majesty requires me to make this Representation. I am sensible how unequal I am to my Duty, I humbly Sir pray your Candid Acceptance and favourable report of my im-

perfect Services to his Majesty.

I have the honor to be with the highest Esteem Sir Your most obedient & most humble Servant

T. POWNALL.

Oct! 2nd. Since writing the above, by a letter from our Agent I am inform'd of the Grant which the Parliament at His Majesty's Recommendation, have made to this Province as a Reimbursement for Provisions supply'd by it to the Army in the Year 1756. I meet the General Court the 4th of this Month and shall represent it to them,

¹ Namely, £27,380, 19 s. 11½. d. 31 George II. c. 33. 363

and as I know them to be a gratefull as well as dutifull People, It will I may be answerable, have every good Effect T. P. upon them.1

GENERAL AMHERST TO PITT²

NEW YORK Oct: the 13th 1758.

Sir

I am to acknowledge the receipt of a Letter from you dated on the 10th of June, which I had the favour of receiving on the 24th of Septemb! at Springfield, and I had the pleasure of communicating to the Troops the Success of His Majesty's Forces, under the Command of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, as likewise of those comanded by the Duke of Marlborough.

The last letter I did myself the Honour of writing to you was on the 18th Sept. from Marlborough,4 at which time, I sent you the Route I then thought to take, which I afterwards

changed, and gained some time by it.

On the 19th I marched and encamped at Worcester, sent Major Robertson forward to Springfield, to get information of the Roads, and to prepare boats for the passage of the Connecticut River.

20th The Troops halted.

I marched at daybreak and encamped at Brookfield. 22nd I marched and encamped at Western, had very

rainy, bad weather.

23rd it continued raining, I marched and encamped at Palmer, as we had a River to pass and no bridge, it fell out luckily to have this day the rainy day.

24th I marched and encamped at Springfield.

25th I passed the Connecticut River, and encamped a mile on the other Side, I changed the Route, and resolved to go through the green woods, and sent forward Pioneers.

26th I marched and encamped at Westfield. 27th I marched and encamped at Blandford.

¹ Acts and Resolves, IV. 228.

² A. and W. I., vol. 79.

³ See letter of that date.

⁴ See letter of that date.

28th I entered the green woods, marched about ten miles, the Troops lay on their Arms this night.

29th I marched about nine miles through the greenwood,

arrived at No. 1,1 and encamped there.

30th I marched and encamped at Sheffield.

1st of October, I halted.

2^d. I marched about fourteen miles, very rainy, stormy, bad weather, made great fires, and pitched but few tents. I received a Letter from M. General Abercromby to come to him as soon as I could conveniently leave the Troops.

3rd I marched and the Troops encamped at Kenderhook Mills, I went on to Albany, leaving the Troops under the Command of Colonel Burton, with a route and orders to

march them accordingly.

4th I went from Albany to Stillwater, where I received the General's Orders, for the Troops to halt at Albany, 'till further Orders, I went on to Saratoga, and the 5th I got to Lake George; I remained the next day with General Abercromby, and the 7th I set out for Halifax, got to Albany on

the 9th, and arrived at New York late last night.

The Operations of the Campaign here being in appearance over, I shall set out tomorrow morning and make what expedition I can to Halifax, where I shall remain according to my Instructions, taking Boston in my way, that I may fix with Governour Pownall, for being supplyed with the Quarters that may be wanted there, in case, that Amherst's & Anstruther's Reg's should not be ordered to England, as likewise for any overplus of Artillery that cannot be properly housed at Halifax on which I have before spoke to Governour Pownall, and now received General Abercromby's Orders to that purpose.

I am with the greatest Respect, Sir,

Your most Humble and most Obedient Servant

JEFF: AMHERST.

¹ In western Massachusetts, between the Connecticut and Housatonic rivers. See note to letter of March 10, 1757.

² See note to letter of May 22, 1758.

PITT TO GOVERNOR OF BARBADOS AND OF THE LEEWARD ISLANDS 1

WHITEHALL. Oct. 16th 1758.

Gov^{r.} of Barbados,² and Gov^{r.} of Leeward Islands.³

Sir,

You will receive this Letter from Major Gen! Hopson,4 whom the King has appointed Commander in Chief of a Body of His Land Forces to make an Attack upon the Island of Martinico; 5 and I am to signify to you His Majesty's Pleasure, that you do give all the Assistance and Succour in your Power to Major General Hopson, whenever He shall apply to you; and particularly, in case It shall, as it is hoped, be found practicable to employ, in any Operations for Annoying and distressing the Enemy in the said Island, a number of the Natives, or Inhabitants of the Island under your Government, that you do exert all your Influence, and use all legal Methods to procure such a Number thereof, as General Hopson shall judge expedient. And you cannot render a more essential or acceptable Service to the King, than by Employing your utmost Endeavours to supply His Majesty's Forces, appointed for this important Expedition, with all sorts of Aid, Provisions and Refreshments, that the Island, under your Command, shall afford, or That you shall be able to procure from other Parts.

To the Governor of the Leeward Islands, only.

I am further to acquaint you, that Major General Hopson is directed to order a Detachment from the 38th Regiment of Foot, now on Duty in the Leeward Islands, to join Him,

² Charles Pilford, Doctor of Civil Law, was appointed governor of the Barbados Islands, to the east of the Windward Islands group, in 1756.

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 78.

³ George Thomas, a planter of Antigua, lieutenant-governor of Pennsylvania from 1738 to 1747, and appointed governor of the Caribbee or Leeward Islands, in January, 1753.

⁴ See note to letter of March 15, 1757.

⁵ In the Windward Islands group, and the most important of the French sugar islands.

in Case It shall be judged, that the same can, consistent with the Safety and Defence of the said Islands, be spared; It is, therefore, the King's Pleasure, that you do, if necessary, give any Orders, that may depend upon You, for making, as speedily as possible, such Detachment from the said Regiment, as Major General Hopson shall think proper to direct.

I am &c^a.

W: Pitt.

P. S.

to Gov. of Barbados. If Gen! Hopson should require any Assistance of Horses, or Beasts of Draught, you will exert all possible Diligence, in supplying Him with the same, in the most speedy & ample manner, that shall be practicable.

PITT TO GENERAL HOPSON 1

WHITEHALL. Oct. 16th 1758.

Sir,

I inclose herewith the Secret Instructions, which the King has been pleased to sign for your Guidance and Direction, in addition to which, I am to inform you, that Captain Hughes is directed, immediately on His Arrival at Portsmouth, if all the Transport Vessels shall, as it is hoped, be then ready or as soon after as possible, to dispatch, in Concert with you, under proper Convoy, to Plymouth, such Part thereof, as shall be sufficient to receive the Two Regiments to be embarked at that Place, and It is His Majesty's Pleasure that you do give the necessary Directions for the said Two Regiments to be put on Board with all possible Expedition, in order that the same may be, in every Respect, ready, on any signal or order from Captain Hughes, to join Him, without Loss of Time, on His arrival, with the rest of the Fleet, off Plymouth.

I am also to inform You, that Captain Hughes 2 is directed, when you shall have made such Progress in your Voyage as shall be judged expedient, to Dispatch, in Concert

² See the following letter.

A. and W. I., vol. 78. See note to letter of March 15, 1757.

with you, a Ship to Captain Moore, or the Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Ships at the Leeward Islands, (who has been ordered to repair to Carlisle Bay in Barbados) with a Duplicate of the King's Instructions; And you will, by that Opportunity, give Captain Moore any Information, that you shall think fit for the Good of His Majesty's Service.

I inclose herewith a Letter for the Governor of Barbados, and also one for the Governor of the Leeward Islands, which you will, respectively, send to them, when you shall dispatch the Applications for Assistance, as directed by your Instructions; and I add, for your Information, a Copy of

the said Letters.

Colonel Haldane, Governor of Jamaica,² being appointed to serve under you, as a Brigadier General, on the Expedition against Martinico; I am to acquaint you, that It is His Majesty's Pleasure, that, as soon as That Service shall be finished, Colonel Haldane do proceed to His Government in Jamaica.

I heartily wish you a good Voyage, and Success in the Important Command, with which the King has been pleased

I am &ca

to honor you.

W. PITT.

PITT TO CAPTAIN HUGHES³

WHITEHALL. Oct. 16th 1758.

Sir,

I send you, herewith inclosed the secret Instructions, which the King has been pleased to sign for your Guidance and Direction; in Addition to which, I am to signify to you His

¹ See preceding letter.

⁸ A. and W. I., vol. 78. Of the Norfolk, 74 guns. Hughes received honorable mention for his services in the attack on Guadeloupe, in 1759.

See Gent. Mag. (1759), 142.

² From 1755 to 1762, with the exception of a short period in 1758, when he was superseded by Colonel George Haldane, the acting governor of Jamaica was Henry Moore. See note to letter of September 6, 1758. Haldane held the position of governor from January, 1758, to his death in July, 1759.

Majesty's Pleasure, that immediately on your Arrival at Portsmouth, if all the Transport Vessels shall, as it is hoped, be then ready, or as soon after as possible, You do, in Concert with Major General Hopson, dispatch under proper Convoy, to Plymouth, such Part thereof, as shall be sufficient to receive the two Regiments to be embarked at That Place; with Directions for the said Two Regiments to be put on board with all possible Expedition, in order that the same may be, in every respect, ready, on any Signal or Order from You, to join you, without Loss of Time, on your Arrival,

with the Rest of the Fleet, off Plymouth.

I send you herewith Two Packets, marked Secret, and addressed to John Moore Esq. or the Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Ships at the Leeward Islands, who has been ordered to repair to Carlisle Bay, at Barbados; And It is the King's Pleasure that, when you shall have made such Progress in your Voyage, as you shall judge expedient, You do, in concert with Major General Hopson, dispatch One of the Ships under your Command, with the Packet, marked D., to Captain Moore; And you will, by the same Ship, give Him the most exact Information of your Situation, and, as near as may be, of the Time, when you may probably arrive at the Place of your Destination: — With regard to the other Packet addressed as above, You will keep it in your Hands, and deliver to Captain Moore, or the Commander in Chief of the King's Ships, when you shall join Him off Barbados. I heartily wish you a good Voyage, and am &c.*

W: Pitt.

PITT TO CAPTAIN MOORE 2

WHITEHALL. Oct. 16th 1758.

Sir,

I send you herewith inclosed, the secret Instructions which the King has been pleased to sign for your Guidance and Direction, and have only to add my most sincere Wishes for

¹ Later, Admiral Sir John Moore.

² A. and W. I., vol. 78. See the two letters immediately preceding. For an account of Moore, see note to letter of July 18, 1757.

your Success in the Important Command, with which His Majesty has been pleased to honor you. I am &c^a.

W. PITT.

PITT TO CAPTAIN HUGHES 1

WHITEHALL, Oct. 20th 1758.

Sir,

I am commanded to signify to you the King's Pleasure, that, so soon as the Four Battalions shall be all embarked at Portsmouth, and the Ships under your Command shall be ready for the Sea, you do immediately (without waiting the Arrival of any of the Bomb Vessels, destined to join your Squadron, which may not, as yet, have been able to get round to Portsmouth,) put to Sea, and proceed, according to your Instructions, with all possible Expedition, taking with you such of the Bomb Vessels as shall be then actually ready at Portsmouth; and you will leave Orders for the others, That shall not have been able to sail at the same Time with you, to follow with all Diligence, under such Convoy as the Lords of the Admiralty shall appoint.

I am &ca

W. PITT.

GENERAL FORBES TO PITT 2

RAES TOWN CAMP. th Octob: 1758.

Sir

. . . I acquainted you of Major Grant 3 of Col. Mont-

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 78.

² A. and W. I., vol. 87.

³ James Grant was made major of the Montgomerie Highlanders in 1757, and accompanied the regiment to America. He was wounded and taken prisoner on the above occasion when two hundred and thirty-one of his men were killed and wounded. In 1760 he was made lieutenant-colonel, and colonel in 1775, under General Howe. He served as major-general in the battle of Long Island and was with Howe on the Delaware. He took an active part in the various New Jersey campaigns and, in the November of 1778, sailed for the French West Indies, where he reduced Santa Lucia. He was promoted to be lieutenant-general in 1782. He died in May, 1806. N.Y. Col. Doc., X. 903.

gomery's Battalion with a strong detachment of 900 men, having gone to Fort Du Quesne in order to reconnoitre the roads & Fort, to check the Enemy's scouting partys and to endeavour to make some Prisoners in order to get some Intelligence of the Enemy's Strength, &ca, which, in spite of all my Endeavours to learn, by every Means That I could devize we are still in the dark off, as to the certainty of their Numbers.

Major Grant trusting to false reports of their strength, divided his troops in order to bring them into an ambuscade, and at break of Day, beat his Drums and discovered himself to the Fort, who immediately poured out a large Body of Men, attacked his divided troops one after another, never allowing him time to get them together, and consequently

had no difficult task in totally dispersing of him.

The Majors Grant and Lewis of the Virginia Provincialls were mad prisoners with 4 more officers, seven officers killed and 270 Private Men.¹ This was a most terrible check to my small Army, at that time (the 14 September) just got in readiness to have marched to the Enemy, as to our Men, had the roads, provisions for man and horse, and the other absolute necessarys corresponded, as it raised the Enemy's Spirits and depressed our's, and at that Critical time was of great consequence, as it run a risque of rivetting the Indians to their Interest, who were then fluctuating betwixt the sides that they were to choose, and who I then verily believed were upon the point of returning to their old habitations upon the Susquehannah, and declaring for us.

For which reason I had Some time before that, suspended all military Operations against them and their villages, in hopes of gaining them entirely to our Interest, which I hope is now in a great Measure done, in a sollemn meeting with their Chieffs at Easton upon the Dellaware, where we have gott the Governours of Pennsylvania and Jersey to

¹ An account of this affair, taken from the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of October 5, is printed in *N.Y. Col. Doc.*, X. 902.

attend them, but as yet I do not know the result of their deliberations.1

Since then nothing has happened, except that upon the 12th Inst a Body of 900 French & Canadians, came to repay Major Grant's visit, and to attack our furthest advanced post at Loyal Hannon, which if they did not carry, they were to destroy our Baggage Horses and the live Cattle for our Subsistance. They attacked the Post for three hours, with little damage on either side, as our men were both more numerous, covered with a good Breastwork, and had two small Redoubts, and five piece of Cannon and Cohorns that played upon the Enemy.

They retreated in the Evening after burying their killed except a very few, and carrying off their wounded, so I do not know their loss, ours were two Maryland officers, and about 60 Men killed and missing, of which last severals

have come in since, having been lost in the woods.3

They carried off all the Baggage Horses belonging to that post, but we saved all our Oxen, I was extreamly angry to find our people had not pursued and attacked their rear in their retreat, from which we might have made reprizalls, but as our troops were mostly provincialls, I was obliged to attribute it to their ignorance, for to do justice I must commend the spirit of some of the provincialls, particularly the Maryland troops, who I retained in the Service, after being left to disband by their Province, and therefore I was obliged to keep them together on our pay, and have been necesitated to advance them from time to time, money for their support, and cloathing, to enable them to carry on the Service, and without which they must have left us, as they had no manner of cloathing but one bad blankett each, which will not do in these cold evenings and mornings, no shoes stockings or Breeches, or any one necessary against the Inclemency of the Weather.

¹ See note to letter of September 6, 1758. ² See note to letter of August 27, 1758.

³ Several contemporary accounts of this action are to be found in Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania, II. 199-202.

The Cherokee and other Southern Indians who came last winter, and so early in the Spring to join us, after having by every Art they were Masters off, gott every thing they could expect from us, left us without any remorse when they found they were not likely to get any more presents for retaining them, so that I have not now left with me above fifty, and I am now upon my march to the Ohio, as the Season will not admitt of one Moment's delay, and I wish most sincerely I could have proceeded sooner, as I have no alternative left me now, but a bold push at last, to which I have been absolutely drove by a Multiplicity of Cross Events, too long to trouble you with at present; but the principal reasons that retarded us after gathering our troops together, was the Waggon-Horses failing in bringing up our Provisions, neither making proper journeys, nor carrying the stipulated weight, by which the Magazines (upon the faith and strength of which I was to have proceeded) diminished daily, nor is it easy to replenish them, or support the daily Consumption of an Army, 300 miles distance, and that all land Carriage. The 2d was the roads, first over the Alleganey Mountains, and then over the Laurell Hills, that are worse. The whole an immense uninhabited Wilderness overgrown every where with trees and underbrush, so that no where can anyone see twenty yards, those roads during the hott and dry Seasons were made practicable for carriages, and I was assured by every one, and made believe that the Months of October and November were the two best Months in the year for an Expedition, because of the trees losing their leaves, by which one can see a little thro' the woods, and prevent the Enemy's surprizes, which is their only strength, and likewise, that in those two Months the Indians leave the French as it is their chief hunting Season, in which they provide for their familys during the winter.

This last was of great consequence to me, as the Enemy's Numbers had all along been represented to me, not only equall, but even to exceed what I could carry against them, so it was absolutely necessary that I should take precautions

by having posts along my route, which I have done from a project that I took from Turpin's Essay Sur la Guerre. Last Chaptre 4th Book. Intitled Principe Sur lequel on peut etabler un projet de Campagne, if you take the trouble of looking into his Book, you will see the Generall principles upon which I have proceeded.

I am this Moment in the greatest distress, occasioned by unusuall rains at this Season, which joined to our Number of Carriages have rendered the clay roads absolutely impracticable to our Artillery and Waggons. As the Horses are a good deal wore out, I still hope a few days will make a change and enable me to proceed; If the Weather does not favour, I shall be absolutely locked up in the Mountains, nor do I scarce see a possibility of recrossing the Alleganey Mountain. This I could not foresee, nor prevent, as it

is quite uncommon here.

I have therefore sent to Virginia, Pensylvania, and Maryland, beging to know what Troops they will furnish me, during the Winter, for the Protection of their Frontiers & Garrisoning the posts and footing we have got so nigh the Enemy, representing to them the small Number of regulars I have (not above 1200 Men) and how unequal to such a task. But as all their troops are only engaged to the beginning of December, I dread the dilatory procedure of their Assemblys will not answer my peremptory Demands of their Aid, at this perplexing juncture for me.²

I cannot form any judgment, how I am to extricate myself, as every thing depends upon the Weather, which snows and rains frightfully, but I shall do myself the honour of writing you every step I take, which to the Utmost of my weak

abilities, shall be for the best.

I have this Moment an Express from the treaty with the Ohio Indians at Easton,³ who have promised to join us,

² See letter to Governor Denny, of October 22, in Col. Rec. of Penn.,

VIII. 224.

¹ The posts erected by Forbes were Fort Bedford at Rays Town, and Fort Ligonier at Loyal Hannon.

³ See note to letter of July 10, 1758.

but require time, a thing at present so precious to me, that I have none to spare, and must in a day or two choose either to risque every thing, and march to the Enemy's Fort, retreat across the Alleganey if the provincialls leave me, or maintain myself where I am to the Spring.

I have the honour to be with the greatest regard & Esteem

Sir

Yr most Obed! & most hum!e Serv!

Jo. Forbes.

CAMP TOP OF THE ALLEGANEY MOUNTAINS. October the Most of the above Letter was wrote some days ago, but finding the weather did not mend, I thought it necessary to march forward, to be ready to embrace the first opportunity.

GOVERNOR POWNALL TO PITT 1

Boston, October th. 1758.

Sir,

It is my Duty to the Province which His Majesty has committed to my Care to lay before you the enclosed Return by which may be seen the Number of People from this Province engaged in the Publick Service at the Time when the General Court made Provision for 7,000 Men more for the Service under General Abercrombie. Some Provinces made the Numbers engaged from amongst them for Rangers, Batteaumen etc: the Excuse why they cou'd not raise their Proportion. This Province first raised their proportion and now beg leave to show that these Reasons might with equal Truth and Justice have been offered by them, had they not preferred their Duty to His Majesty to all other Considerations.²

I have the honor to be with the highest Respect
Sir, your most obedient & most humble Servant
T. POWNALL.

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 71.

² Parkman says that Massachusetts put into the field one in four of her able-bodied men. *Montcalm and Wolfe*, II. 85.

The Number of Troops sent from this Province to the Army in 1758 as appears by the Agent Victuallers Acc! is as follows: -

Victualled by Leonard Jarvis.			
At Northampton			
On board Transports			1067
Officers that did not receive provisions at Northh	am	p -	
ton			
			6893
From the Castle to Georges	•	٠	32
			6925

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR ELLIS TO PITT 1

(Abstract)

GEORGIA. 31. Oct: 1758.

By Pitt's former letters he was directed to apply to the Commanders of the King's forces for any help he might

need for the frontier provinces.

Received letters of 30th. Dec: and 7th. Jan: He applied to the Earl of Loudoun nearly 2 years ago for some Troops to protect the People in his Province "from the growing insolence of the Savages" who seemed inclined to take advantage of their weakness by committing daily outrages, also they were threatened with insults from the Enemies' Privateers (there being no naval force to interrupt them)3 "In consequence of some very alarming appearances amongst our Indian neighbours, the late Governor in December 1756 began to raise some Rangers for the Defence of the Colony, the Officers for three Troops were commissioned, and forty Men for the first one levyed which to this day are unestablished." Lord Loudoun gave him no positive

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 71.

² See letters of those dates. ³ See letters of December 10, 1757, and February 28, 1758.

instructions about them except to authorize his drawing upon the Deputy Pay Master at New York for money to maintain what were raised until further orders — but he heard no more from his Lordship. Upon the Change in the Chief Command of the King's Forces he wrote to Gen: Abercromby, but has had no answer to his 4 letters.

The Frontier forts are in a decayed condition, and no other force is near except the few Rangers which for 8 or 9 months past have subsisted upon his own credit, and a small detachment of an Independent Company of S. Carolina. Altho' (as Lord Loudoun agreed) the Rangers are necessary to be kept up he is afraid if he hears nothing he will (very reluctantly) have to dismiss them. He has accomodated most of the differences between his Colony and the Creek Indians (who however cannot be relied upon) which adds to their security.

Meanwhile the Colony "thrives apace" & tranquillity pre-

vails.

ADMIRAL BOSCAWEN TO PITT 1

NAMUR, SPITHEAD, 1st November. 1758.

Sir,

In Obedience to His Majesty's Orders I have left ten Sail of the Line and three Frigates at Louisbourg, under the Command of Rear Admiral, Durell; I have also sent a Frigate to Virginia, one to New York, another to Carolina, and a fourth to Providence for the Service of those Colonys. Sir Charles Hardy returned from the Gulph of S! Lawrence the 28th of September, inclosed I send you a Report of what was done there by Sir Charles Hardy, and the Troops under Brigadier Wolfe; Sir Charles Hardy was prevented getting above Cape Roozier³ by strong Northerly Winds.

² See note to letter of May 10, 1758.

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 79.

⁸ Cap Rouge, on the St. Lawrence river, a short distance above Quebec.

I sailed from Louisbourg the first of October, and soon after lost Company with the Orford & Lancaster two third Rates; on the 18th was joined by the Boreas and Trent that had been Cruizing in the Streights of Bell Isle¹ without Success.

On the 27th having in Company the Namur, Royal William, Somerset, Bienfaisant, Boreas, Echo, and Countess of Gramont Frigates, with the Etna and Lightning Fireships, between four and five in the afternoon in the Latit. of 40.40, expecting to make the Land, having been two days in Soundings, it blowing hard at South, I made eight Sail of Frenchmen of War, five of them large Ships, we were on different Tacks, and as we passed three of them fired at us, as did the Royal William and Somerset at them, I wore Ship and stood after them, but the Night coming on, could not keep sight of them, and in the Night I split two Main sails. In the Morning I saw, four of the large Ships and stood to them, they made a Shew of Forming a Line and engaging, but when we were about a mile from them, made all the Sail they could from us, keeping about a Point from the Wind, and I am sorry to say all four of them outsail'd us much; about two o'clock in the Afternoon the headmost of them carried away his Foretopmast, notwithstanding which I could not get nearer to him than about five Miles: During the Chace a fifth French Ship came in Sight, and stood for us, and when within Random shot hoisted his Colours, fired a Gun, and struck them: I order'd by Signal Cap! Hughes of the Somerset to take possession of her, I took her to be his Majesty's late Ship the Warwick.

I anchored here this Evening, and am, Sir,
Your most humble and most obedient Servant

E. Boscawen.

¹ See note to letter of September 13, 1758.

GENERAL WOLFE TO PITT¹

Namur,² 1st November, 1758.

Sir

I have the Honour to acquaint you, that in the latter end of August, I received General Amherst's Orders to take the Command of three Battalions, and to proceed with the Squadron under Sir Charles Hardy into the Gulph of S! Lawrence; the General's Instructions directed me to destroy the Settlements at Gaspé, Baye des Chaleurs, & Miramichi, and to go as far up the River St Lawrence, as the Season of the Year wou'd permit.3 The Squadron sail'd from Louisbourg the 28th August, and anchor'd in the Bay of Gaspé the 5th September; the Inhabitants (few in number) abandoned their houses, some got into Canada, some came in afterwards & submitted, and others were surpriz'd & taken in the Woods by our detachments: by the 11th this scatter'd Settlement was entirely destroyed: among the Prisoners we found Pilots for Miramichi, and for the fishing Coast towards the Baye des Chaleurs; I order'd Colonel Murray to take the Command of about Eight hundred Men to attack the establishment at Miramichi, concluding that Boishébert 4 and his Canadians, wou'd be there to assist the Indians & Acadians in their defence. A Detachment was sent at the

² Wolfe sailed for England with Boscawen in the Namur.

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 79. James Wolfe, the hero of the campaign against Quebec, was the son of Major-general Edward Wolfe, an officer of reputation. He entered the army when fifteen and served as adjutant to his regiment in Flanders the next year. He also served with credit in the campaign of Dettingen and was present at Culloden. He was made a lieutenant-colonel at twenty-three and stationed for five years among the Highlanders. His reputation was greatly enhanced by his brilliant services at Louisburg, and Pitt selected him to command the Quebec expedition, passing him above several older officers, with characteristic defiance of precedence. His success and death are well known to all.

³ See note to letter of August 10, 1758. The settlements here mentioned were on the east coast of the mainland, to the south of the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

⁴ See note to letter of July 23.

same time under Captain Erwin of Amherst's Regiment, to destroy the fishing Settlements at Pas-beau and La Grande Riviere, and Sir Charles Hardy order'd some of the Boats of his Squadron to Mal-baye, and other places west of Gaspée1 to ruin the fishery there. Colonel Murray's report is enclosed for your Information concerning the Bay, River, & Settlement of Miramichi. Captain Erwin, with his detachment, some Marines, & some Sea-men landed at la Grande Riviere, Pas-beau, baye Sauvage, and upon the Island Bonaventure, and burn't all the Houses, Shallops, Stages, Magazines & Stores of those Settlements to a considerable Value, with a quantity of dried fish, & two Sloops loaden with that Commodity for Quebec, but Captain Jacobs who commanded the Kennington, sent by S. Charles Hardy to countenance and assist Mr. Erwin, did not think it safe to remain upon the Coast, so that Cap! Erwin was obliged to leave most of the Inhabitants in the Woods contrary to my Instructions, and to the directions I had received from General Amherst. When these detachments were made, I advis'd with Sir Charles Hardy, as to what might be done in the River St Lawrence to distress or alarm the Enemy, and cause some diversion in favour of General Abercromby, but the Rear Admiral did not think it proper at that Season to carry the Squadron as high as the Isle Bic.2 However I determined to destroy the Settlement at Mont-Louis thirty two leagues from Gaspé, and the only inhabited place between that Bay & S! Barnabé; I had learn't that there was a considerable store of dry fish ready for Quebec, & imagin'd there might possibly be some good Pilots for the River. The 13th, Major Dalling was detach'd with 100 men to surprize Mont-Louis, & bring off the Inhabitants; he marched five days along the coast, and surrounded the place in the night, so that none cou'd escape; the Major burnt a Schooner upon the stocks, all their Fish, and totally destroyed the fishery; he brought away six pieces of small Cannon, & a Sloop with provisions from Quebec, which

¹ On the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

² Off the mouth of the Saguenay river.

came into the River of Mont-louis, after the detachment got there, this Sloop was to unload, & then proceed to Gaspé for intelligence, with orders to cruize there till the 15th October. The Passengers & People informed us, that they left the French fleet getting under Sail the 17th September twenty five leagues, below Quebec, and that the Squadron consisted of six sail of the Line, two Frigates, two Privateers, and four Merchant Ships, that they were to pass through the Streights of Belle-Isle 1 in their way to Europe. These Prisoners assured us, that there was great scarcity of Provisions, and great distress at Quebec; that (altho' the Magazines for the Army were full, and the best harvest of many years) Bread sold at near a shilling a pound; that both the Troops & Inhabitants had been reduced in the winter to eat horse-flesh, and that the Colony must be ruin'd, unless very early & very powerfull Assistance was given.

Major Dalling returned to Gaspé the 23th; and Sir Charles Hardy, (who had been cruizing for some time, between Gaspé & Anticosti,² endeavouring to get within the Mouth of the River S! Lawrence) came to an Anchor in the Bay, the 24th As there was no further Service for the Troops, they embarked, — the Squadron sail'd the 27th, and arrived at Louisbourg the 29th, Amherst's & Anstruther's Regiments were sent directly to Halifax, & Bragg's remain'd at Louis-

bourg.

As we found no Enemy in a Condition to oppose us, we cou'd add nothing to the reputation of his Majesty's Arms. Their Fishery in the Gulph of S! Lawrence, a material article of subsistence to the Canadians, is, in a great Measure ruined, a few Shallops only got up to Quebec with fish before our arrival at Gaspé. Two armed Sloops, and four Whale Boats will make it impossible to catch a Quintal of Cod as long as the War lasts. All their Houses, Stages, Magazines, Shallops, Nets, Stores, & Provisions are burn't, one hundred

¹ See note to letter of September 13, 1758.

² An island in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, at the mouth of the St. Lawrence river.

& forty of the Inhabitants brought off, and the rest of these miserable People, will in all probability be forced to abandon their Settlements, and retire to Quebec. Among the Prisoners, there are some who are very well acquainted with the River S! Lawrence, their names have been given to M! Durell. From Pas-beau round the Baye des Chaleurs, to Caraquet, there are no French Inhabitants; from Caraquet to Mirimichi, there may be about forty who either fish, or trafick with the Indians for Furr.

Upon the Magdalen Islands, there are from thirty to forty People employed in catching Sea-Cows. 2

In time of Peace, a number of Ships from S! Maloes and other Ports, are sent every year to fish upon the coast of Gaspée. Forty sail of ships are expected in the River S! Lawrence, with Provisions, Stores &c. early in the Summer.

I have the honour to be with the utmost Respect, Sir, your most Obedient and most Humble Servant

IAS: WOLFE.

GOVERNOR POWNALL TO PITT 3

Boston. Nov: 1. 1758.

Sir,

Inclosed I have the honor to present you a Draught of His Majesty's Castle William in the Harbour of Boston. The Descriptions that I have annexed to the Draught will

explain it.

The idea which immediately presents itself upon the first view of these things is - The Nature of the Danger which the principal Towns of the Colonies are exposed to - and Nature of the Defence with which they are prepared to resist an Attempt.

They are in no danger of being conquered and held by

3 A. and W. I., vol. 71. ² The walrus.

¹ To the northwest of the island of Cape Breton, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

the Enemy while the British Crown maintains its Dominions in the American seas. And perhaps 'tis better they shou'd owe their safety to this Protection than to the Strength of their Fortifications and Garrisons. The Danger they are in is from Insults and such Ravages as the French themselves now experience in their own Coasts in Old France. Four or Five Ships with a Bomb may any time effect this as they are now circumstanced. And tho' the French could not send out from Europe any large Armament without being Watched, Yet at any time, especially at the first breaking out of War, when these seas shou'd happen to be without a British Squadron, They might push away Four or Five Ships from France or from the West Indies Unsuspected, do all the Mischief of a Bombardment, Destroy all the Shipping and return uninterrupted. I speak not this only as what may be supposed to be attempted, but what in the Year 1756 the French did actually and in Fact intend, and had plan'd, and had been tampering with some People of this Continent about.

As to the Nature of the Defence with which we are provided, tho' I am particularly acquainted with the State and Circumstances of New York and Philadelphia, yet I shall beg leave to confine myself to that of this Town which is

my own Department.

It appears from the Works of Castle William and the Return of the Arms and Stores, That it is, such as it is, in a very respectable posture of Defence, was it provided with a Garrison. I have selected four Companies of a hundred Men each and one of Sixty from the Militia of the Towns lying most convenient to the Island to do Duty there in case of an Alarm. These are trained six days in the Year at the Great Guns and are more expert at the Exercise than cou'd well be imagined — But the Possibility of being prepared with this Defence supposes twelve or rather four and twenty hours Notice which from the Nature of the Danger above conceived, is not to be expected — The General Assembly therefore enable me to keep there a constant Garrison agreeable to the inclosed Return. Out of which

after the usual Deductions for the Barge Men; Captains, Servants and People employed in the Menial Offices of the Castle. I am able to mount each day but a Corporal and four Privates from whence can be only one Centry who keeps a look out from the top of the Citadel, all which is insufficient to prevent a Surprize even by Boats, for did any Ships come upon the Coast with the Intent I have above supposed, they might send up their Boats and Seize the Castle, and after come up with their Ships unmolested; For the Boats might row from their ships to the Castle, even after the Alarm was given sooner than the proper Succour provided for it would get there, and shou'd ever this Place be Attempted, I will venture to predict that will be the Case.

To Remedy this as far as lies within my Power I am endeavouring to form a Battalion of 500 Men, which I propose giving the Command of to the Lieut: Governor, out of the Towns of Boston Charlestown and Roxbury besides the five Companies appropriated to the Service of the Artillery — I propose as an Encouragement, to exempt those who shall engage from all other Trainings Impresses & Services whatsoever in lieu of this Service. But there are so many artificial Exemptions and other Tricks of getting excused that I much doubt whether I shall be able to Effect this Measure, especially as it Militates with the Interest that the Militia Captains in the Town of Boston derive from their Commands, who therefore oppose it.

But shoud I be able to Effect this, yet still I cannot but think it my Duty to acquaint you that this Remedy does not reach the Evil to be Apprehended. And tho' while I have the Honor to command in this Province I will to the utmost of my abilities, Care and Power, do all to Defend it. Yet in the Posture of Defence it is in or I am able to put it, I cannot but think it my Duty, Sir, to apprize you that I cannot answer for my being able to repulse such an Attempt as I

have above supposed.

The Remedy is not only Easy but attended with many good Effects in other Lights that may be derived from it.

Tis easy if so conducted as not to break the Royal Charter of Government to this Province. But if not so conducted, liable to all those perplexities that have hitherto prevented

its being applied and will still prevent it.

When the Crown by Charter granted the Powers of Government to this Colony, and made it a Province, it granted without Exception all Military Power and Authority over all Forts and Forces within the Province, It vested this Power in the Office of the Governor formed by the same Charter, But as a Check retained the Nomination of that Governor during pleasure to His Majesty. Hence, tho' the Person of the Governor may be superceeded and changed at Pleasure, Yet no Part or Power of the Office of Governor can be superceeded or changed without an absolute Breach of the Royal Charter, which the Crown ever since the Revolution, has been greatly tender of. And hence it is that the Command of no Castle or Fort within the Province can be given to any one, except the Governor or such as he shall appoint under his Command. In the rest of His Majesty's Provinces where the Office of Governor is constituted as well as the Person by His Commission. There any Part or Power of such Office as well as the Governor may be superceeded by any other Commission that His Majesty shall be pleased to grant under the Broad Seal.

If upon this State of the Case the Command of any Companies or Regiment cou'd be so settled as not to interfere with the Royal Charter of Government granted to the Province, any such Companies or Regiments might be appointed to Garrison the Castle and Forts of the Province. And the Remedy is at hand, but if that cannot be, the only Remedy that appears to remain is an Independent Company of Hundred and Fifty Men including Officers, cloathed, paid and victuall'd by the Crown Exactly as is at Providence in the Bahamas, under the Command of his Majesty's Governor of the Province, and none else. Which is no new Precedent. I have had the Honor to shew the Castle and Harbour to Major Gen! Amherst, and to communicate

2 C

these sentiments to him, and I have leave to say his opinion entirely coincides with the above Representation.

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect Sir,
Your most obedient & most humble Servant
T. POWNALL.

PITT TO CAPTAIN HUGHES 1

WHITEHALL. Nov: 2d 1758.

Sir,

I received the Favor of your Letter of the 30th past, and hope the missing Transports will be come in; and I trust that the Damage will not be found to be so considerable,2 but that, with the Help of such empty Transports, as are now at Portsmouth, and which It is the King's Pleasure you should immediately make ready and apply to this Service, in the room of Those Transports that cannot be timely repaired, and by using all possible Diligence in the Reparation of such of them as may be shortly made fit for the sea again, you will be very speedily, in a Condition to prosecute, without Delay, the important and pressing Objects of your Instructions: - I have only to add, that It is His Majesty's Pleasure, that, in Addition to your Squadron, you take under your Command Two more Ships of the Line, namely, the Lancaster and the Winchester; but It is the King's Pleasure, that, as soon as your former Squadron, and the Transports with the Troops and Stores, are ready again for the Sea, you should not delay a Moment sailing with the Same, on Account of the said additional Two Ships, the Lancaster and the Winchester; but leave Orders for them to follow, as soon as ready, with all possible Expedition, giving them such Rendezvous, as you shall think proper, sealed, and to be opened at Sea. - The King will wait, with Impatience, to hear of your being sailed.

The Company and Half of the 61st Regiment, landed at

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 78.

² A storm dispersed the transports when the fleet put to sea. One was driven ashore, and others slightly damaged.

Poole from the Transport stranded off that Coast, have Orders to march to Lymington; and you will, in concert with Major General Hopson, give the necessary Orders for embarking them at that Place.¹

I am &cª

W. PITT.

CAPTAIN HUGHES TO PITT²

Norfolk. S. Hellens. Nov. 3d 1758.

Sir

I am this instant favourd with yours by a Messenger ³ and in return am to acquaint you that I have given directions for one of those Transports that have no Troops on board in the Harbour to take out the Stores from the Ordnance Ships that are damaged and likewise sent one to Lymington for those Troops that are march'd there from Pool and shall make all the dispatch in my power in getting every thing ready for the Sea.

I am Sir your most Obedient humble Servant

R. Hughes.

GOVERNOR LYTTELTON TO PITT 4

Charles Town. Nov: 4th 1758.

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit to you Copies of my Letters of the 22th of August and 8th of September to Admiral Boscawen & of an extract of a Letter I received from two Traders at Augusta in Georgia; I send too a Copy of a Letter of the 8th of September from M. Moore Lieutenant Governor of Jamaica, which I received the the 2th of last Month with the Papers mark'd N. 1, 2, 3, 4. On the 2th Instant I received Letters by the Scarborough Man of War of the 28th & 30th of August from Admiral Boscawen ac-

¹ See the following letter.

² A. and W. I., vol. 100.

³ See preceding letter.

⁴ A. and W. I., vol. 71.

quainting me that he & Major General Amherst were of opinion that Nothing cou'd be undertaken this year against the French Settlements on the Rivers Mobille and Missisippi. If it shall be His Majesty's Pleasure that an Enterprize against those Parts shou'd be form'd next Spring I hope I shall be able at the same time to make an Attempt upon the Albama Fort 1 and I beg leave to make the following remarks concerning the practicability of it. First with respect to the Force necessary to be employ'd in such a Service, I conceive two thousand Men might be sufficient. The Regiment in the pay of this Province now actually consists of above four thousand Men & this I shou'd propose to complete to it's establishment of seven hundred Men. I imagine I may form another Regiment of a thousand Men out of the whole Militia of the Province which is between six & seven thousand strong & also augment a Militia Regiment of Horse in which there are now about a hundred Men to three hundred; I might also take with me a detachment of a hundred Men from His Majesty's three independent Companies in which there are some Officers who have been much accustomed to live among the Indians and have served under the Generals Oglethorpe and Braddock; such a detachment might be of much use to me & yet wou'd not be likely to produce the same ill effects that a more considerable body of His Majesty's Regular Troops in exciting the Jealousy of the Provincials and robbing the Province of a part at least of that honour in the Enterprize, the idea of which I believe will be a principal Motive to the Inhabitants of it to engage in it; the junction of the independents with the Provincials wou'd also make the latter subject to the Articles of War, of which otherwise a doubt might arise. The Creeks 2 are computed to be two thousand Gun Men, but I presume I shou'd find many of them very ill arm'd &

¹ See letter of March 7, 1758, and note.

² See note to letter of December 10, 1757. The Creek Indians were known as the Upper, Lower, and Middle Creeks. See map in Winsor, Mississippi Basin, 383. The Cherokees were chiefly in the north and northwest of Georgia. The Chickasaws and Choctaws were farther west.

indifferently supplied with ammunition, and upon my arrival in their Country, I apprehend, a Declaration to the following effect might keep them quiet If not induce them to join me, viz: - That I came into their Nation as a Friend to them, but as an Enemy to the French, that the King was determined to destroy the Subjects of the French King, wherever they were & had sent me orders to attack them; that as they (the Creeks) had received numberless proofs of His Majesty's Favour and had long lived in Amity with his Children the English, I invited them to join me and take up the Hatchet against the French, but if they refused I wou'd immediately order all the English Traders to depart out of their Country, which wou'd reduce them to great distress for want of those goods which the French are not able to supply them with, and if I found that any of them took part with the Enemy, that I wou'd instantly march into their Towns, burn their Houses, & put their Women and Children to the Sword. As to the other Indian Nations, I think I may be confident of having the Assistance of the Chickesaws a small but very brave Nation & I hope I shoud engage some Catawbas & some Cherokees also to accompany me. I can form no certain Judgment of the Number of Chactaws or other Indians that the French might be able to oppose to me, but I think as soon as ever they were allarm'd by an Attack upon their own Coast they wou'd draw down a great part of their Indians for the defense of it.

Secondly, concerning the Article of Provisions I am of opinion that If I have timely Notice of the King's Pleasure, a sufficient quantity may be collected here, by the Person who now supplies the Provincial Regiment as Agent for the Commissaries at New York at the expence of the Crown, in consequence of the Letter I had the honour to receive from you of the 30th of December 1757. I shou'd propose to erect one or more Magazines in the Creek Nation, as well to prevent our Suffering through Scarcity, as to preserve our Communication with our Frontier Garrisons of Augusta &

¹ See letter of that date.

Fort Moor, and as Posts to retreat to in case any ill accident befell us; These Magazines might soon be so fortified as to be tenable against the Indians.

Thirdly I apprehend the number of baggage Horses might be greatly reduced by orders limiting the quantity of

it, that each officer shall be allow'd to carry.

Fourthly, If upon examining those Persons who best know the Country it shall appear a matter of great difficulty to carry Artillery, I shou'd hope the Enterprize might nevertheless take place, because I conceive from the Accounts I have had of the Fort, it might be stormed with scaling Ladders, but in this I may be deceived, and I beg leave to propose that an Engineer with some small Cannon & proper Ordnance Stores, and some good Matrosses shou'd be sent to me from England. If it is the King's Pleasure that the Expedition shou'd be undertaken Captain Dudgeon of the Royal Regiment of Artillery has been order'd by the Board of Ordnance to repair hither but he is now with General Forbes and if by any means he shou'd be prevented from coming, I shall have no one Man that can act as an Engineer and shou'd he come I shall wish to have more than one man for that branch of the Service, not only on Account of the Attack of the Fort itself, but for the fortifying my Magazines making intrenchments and adding new works to the Albama Fort shou'd it surrender & it shou'd be the King's Pleasure that I shou'd Garrison it concerning which point I humbly desire to be instructed; I may add that Engineers and Mattrosses are much wanted for the Service of the Province at large independent of any particular distinct object.

Fifthly, If it shou'd prove that the Rivers are so high as to obstruct the March of the Troops & fordable Places cannot be found, they may pass over a bridge of boats and I presume I cou'd carry a proper number of Boatmakers & Carpenters to effect such works when they shall be found necessary. We have no Pontons in the Province but if they were sent from England it might perhaps relieve me

¹ Posts on the Savannah river, which separated the colony from Georgia.

from all difficulties on this head. These Conjectures Sir I humbly submit to you, which may perhaps in many Respects prove erroneous & the rather as I have not ventured to disclose to any person whatsoever the orders his Majesty has been pleased to give me concerning this Matter, nor indeed to make such inquiries as I wou'd have done, had I not apprehended that it wou'd tend to a premature discovery of the business. I beg leave to observe that no Tents Arms or Ammunition have ever been sent here since I had the honour to receive your dispatch of the 30th of December 1757, and If an Attempt is to be made on the Albama Fort, I conceive it will be proper that I shou'd have tents for two thousand Men and two thousand light Muskets & Bayonets with the necessary Accoutrements & Ammunition; The Firelocks which the Regiment is arm'd with are too heavy for this hot Country & many of them are in a bad Condition. I have just learnt that His Majesty has been graciously pleased to sign a Warrant for two thousand pounds to be employ'd in purchasing presents for the Indians which Mr Wright the agent of this Province is to send to me; if they are not actually sent when this Letter comes to your hands, I cou'd wish Sir, that M! Wright were instructed to keep them 'till they can be put on board a Man of War, and that one of His Majesty's Ships were to be sent hither to bring them and any other Stores that it may be thought requisite to add and also any Letter you may honour me with upon the subject Matter of this, of which Duplicates might be transmitted to me by other Vessels bound directly hither. I rarely receive a dispatch from you, by the way of New York 'till four or five months after its date, and I am humbly of opinion that it might be much for His Majesty's Service, If a Packet Boat were to be established & continued during the War to go constantly between Great Britain and this Town by which the Correspondence of the King's Ministers might be carried on with the Governors of the Southern Provinces. If His Majesty shall be pleased to renew his Orders to me concerning an attack of the Albama Fort it might very much facilitate the Success of the Measure, If

some Assurance were given in the Letter that may be address'd to me on that occasion, of His Majesty's gracious purpose to recompense the Province in proportion as the efforts it shall make may appear to deserve. The Taxes which the People of this Government have borne during the War, have been much heavier than usual & the expence they must incur to keep such a force in pay as I may think necessary to be collected for the Expedition in question wou'd be more than they cou'd well endure. I will beg leave to add that the sooner I am made acquainted with the King's Pleasure the better; for great delays occur in the execution of Publick measures in these Provinces and some very considerable time may be taken up in negociating with the Indians in order to obtain their Cooperation I shou'd hope too to have the speediest intelligence of the time when His Majesty's Fleet may be likely to arrive on the Coast of Louisiana, for If any Indians join me & I shou'd be obliged to defer my March for want of such intelligence, so great is their impatience of the least delay that they will probably quit me & return home.

Captain Calcock¹ arrived here the 2d Instant in the Scarborough Man of War & has never received anything but fifty pounds which I gave him before he went to Louisbourg. I humbly recommend him to His Majesty's further Bounty, and have instructed him not to be absent from hence in the Spring least there shou'd be occasion for his Service. I am

with the greatest respect Sir

your most Obedient & most faithfull humble Servant
WILLIAM HENRY LYTTELTON.

GOVERNOR POWNALL TO PITT²

(Abstract)

Boston. 5 Nov: 1758.

Sends a draft of route to Canada by the rivers Kenebeck and Chaudier ³ & a journal of the Officers sent to investi-

¹ See letter of January 27, 1758.

² A. and W. I., vol. 71.

³ See letter of June 8, 1758, and notes.

gate it. Capt: Nicholls "a great hunter in the Woods" undertook to do it and has been given Command of Fort Frederic at Pemaquid as a reward. Of course no Army could go this way, but a large Scout might. "If at the same time that the Fleet & Army were advancing to MoReal & Quebec such a scout should fall upon the Settlements at or near Chaudier t'wou'd have a great effect. At such wages as Rogers Rangers have I think I cou'd gett about a 100 thorough paced woodsmen."

GOVERNOR WHITMORE TO PITT 1

LOUISBOURG Nov. 6th 1758.

Sir

I had the Honour of writing to You o' the 30th September last, by Admiral Boscawen, which I hope before this time is come to your Hands, I have however with this Sent a Copy thereof to which I beg leave to Reffer and have now little further to trouble you with but to Confirm its' Contents.

The Houses were all Destroyed to a Degree hardly Credible, and all of Them, as well as every Part of the Town, in Such a Condition of Filth, and Nastiness, that the Labour of Repairing and Cleaning has been very great. I keep'd the Troops encamp'd on the Glacis of the Town while the Quarters were repairing and cleaning as long as possible, But the bad Weather setting in, I was obliged to break up the Camp before it was finished; However the Garrison is tollerably Healthy, Considering the Nasty Condition the Place was in.

I have done all in my Power to make a proper Provision of Coals, and Firewood for the approaching Winter, by keeping Partys at the Colliery, Miners constantly Digging, and Vessells bringing the Coals away, as fast as they were ready; and also all the Wood that could be gott together, wherever the French had any Cutt; But notwithstanding I am still apprehensive before the Winter is over We shall be

² See letter of that date.

A. and W. I., vol. 79. See note to letter of January 27, 1758.

deficient . . . besides the Party of Men at the Colliery, and the Miners Employed in it, there must also be partys Sent

Early in the Spring to cutt and prepare Wood.

Co! Bastide and Major MacKellar are gone from hence to the Continent. Every thing which the Engineers can do this Season before the Winter Setts in, being finished, besides keeping the Works in Repair, and hindering any Damage which Stormy Weather or the Frost may occasion, from going any Length for which Purpose Capt Dixon Remains Chief Engineer here.

There is a Cartel Ship by Admiral Durell's ² Direction now taking on board such of the French Inhabitents as were left sick, and are now in a Condition to Embark being 120. There yet remains in the General Hospital of Men, Women and Children 177 and Invalids in the town 80 who will be

Embark'd as soon as possible after their Recovery.

There are about two thousand two hundred of the Inhabitants of St Johns Island,3 already Embarked, But Lord Rollo 4 who was sent there with a Detachment of 500 Men to see Them all Embarked writes me that much against his Inclination He is obliged to leave the Inhabitants of a whole Parish behind. They live at a distant part of the Island, about a hundred Miles by Land which is impracticable for Them to March and the Agent for the Transports (one Capt Hay) told my Lord Rollo and Capt Bond of his Majesty's Ship Hinde he would not allow the Transports to be sent for Them, and would protest against it if they were: Admiral Durell has Sent further Orders since this Advice and I hope They will be Embarked. The Detachment on this Service are very Healthy, having lost but one Man. Lord Rollo reports the Island to be a Rich Soil, a fine Country and well worth being Settled for which Reason He has not Destroyed the Houses: When the French are Embarked

¹ See note to letter of May 9, 1758.

² See note to letter of January 9, 1758.

⁸ Prince Edward Island.

⁴ Andrew, fifth Lord Rollo, who took a prominent part in the West Indian campaign of 1761. See note to letter of June 8, 1761.

He is to leave 190 Men in Garrison and Return with the Rest of the Detachment.

I have the Honour to be with due Respect Sir Your most Obedient and most Humble Servant EDW. WHITMORE.

GENERAL HOPSON TO PITT 1

Portsmouth. 8th November. 1758.

Sir

I beg leave to remind you of a Supply of Provisions which you may be pleased to remember you told me should be sent out after us, the last time I had the honour of seeing you. Notwithstanding the power you then gave me of sending for Provisions from certain places, there will be more dependance upon a Supply of every Specie for two or three Months from hence. As it may be long before I may be able to dispatch Orders to these places, and the Passage to, and from, may be very precarious. — The loss sustained by the stranding of the Henry Transport off Poole 2 amounts to the Provision of near Two Hundred Men for six Months.

I am sorry to acquaint you, Sir, that what I suspected with regard to the badness of the Weather since we have been here has so far happened that it is just now reported to me that there are near Two Hundred Sick which must be put on shore to Newport or some other Hospital, besides those that there are hopes of being recovered on board; and will beg leave to remark to you that the Four Regiments here will be lessened by that Number besides what may be left sick belonging to those at Plymouth, and submit to you, (in case we are detained here by contrary Winds) whether an Order may not be given for our being made compleat to the Complement out of some Regiments in this Neighbourhood; ³

³ See the following letter.

A. and W. I., vol. 100. See note to letter of March 15, 1757.

² The transport was driven on the bar by a heavy storm of November 1.

but I propose this with no view of staying one Moment on that Account. I am Sir

Your most Obedient and most Humble Servant
T. Hopson.

PITT TO GENERAL HOPSON 1

WHITEHALL Nov! 13th 1758.

Sir,

I am now to acquaint You, that the King has been pleased to direct the Seven Companies of Highlanders (lately raised in order to be added to the 42^d Regiment of Foot,) to reinforce the Troops already under your Command, and it is hoped they will join you in good Time; But It is His Majesty's Pleasure, that, as soon as the Attempts, which you are directed to make on Port S! Pierre, and Port Royal, in the Island of Martinico,² shall be ended, and shall either have succeeded, or failed, You do immediately (in concert with the Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Ships, and independent of any of the Draughts which are discretionally directed by the 5th Article of your secret instructions) send the said Seven Companies of Highlanders to such Port in North America as shall be judged most convenient, in order to their joining the Forces there under the Command of Major General Amherst.

I am &ca

W. PITT.

GOVERNOR THOMAS TO PITT 3

ANTIGUA.4 Nov. 20th 1758.

Sir,

I have the Honor to acquaint you, that on the 3d Inst, Captain Tyrell, in His Majesty's Ship Buckingham, engaged

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 78.

² See note to letter of October 16, 1758.

⁸ Chatham MSS., Bundle 98. See note to letter of October 16, 1758.

⁴ See note to letter of March 10, 1757.

Three French Men of War, having sixteen Vessels under their Convoy, most of them Dutch, bound from Eustatius to Martinico, with warlike Stores and Provisions, & No Age can produce a greater Instance of Courage & Conduct in an Affair of this sort, for the French Frigates of 36. & 24. Guns were soon drove out of the Engagement, and the Florisant of 74. Guns & 800 Men was silenced in less than Three Hours; and not a Man was to be seen upon her Decks; but whilst Capt Tyrell, with several Wounds, was preparing to board her . . . the Florisant . . . made her Escape. The Buckingham at that Time had but 65 Guns

& 450 Men.2

This is the third Dutch Fleet of Sloops within four Months, which has gone under the Convoy of French Men of War, with Warlike Stores & Provisions, from S! Eustatius to Martinico, & returned with the Produce of those Islands, to be ship'd on Board Dutch Ships at S! Eustatius bound to Holland. And I am well informed, that the Dutch there have lately armed several Vessels, with a Determination to join the French in carrying on a Trade so beneficial to Themselves, & injurious to His Majesty's Service; for it is beyond all doubt that the French at Martinico, & Guardalupa,3 could not without this Trade, have carried on their Plantations, . . . By a Cartell Vessel, which returned to me last week with English Prisoners from Martinico, I was informed, that an Express had lately arrived from France, and that upon the Advices received by Her, the Enemy immediately went to work upon Entrenching their Bays & Landing Places, & mounting all their spare Cannon.

I am &ca

GEO. THOMAS.

¹ See note to letter of February 2, 1758.

² An account of this action is given in Clowes, Royal Navy, III. 300. The Buckingham lost seven killed and forty-six wounded.

³ In the Leeward Islands group, some one hundred and fifty miles north of Martinique.

GENERAL ABERCROMBY TO PITT 1

NEW YORK, 25th November, 1758.

Sir.

On the 1st of this Month, late at night, I had the Honour to receive the Duplicates of your two Letters of the 18th September, and hoping that Major General Amherst might still be at Boston, where he was some Days before, in his Return to Halifax, I next morning early wrote to him by Express, acquainting him that it was the King's Pleasure that I shou'd return to England, and that His Majesty had honour'd him with the Command of His Forces in North America; and that, in Obedience to His Majesty's Command, signified to me by your foregoing Letter, I shou'd prepare Copies of all the Instructions and Orders, that have been sent me since I have been in the Command together with Copies of all other Papers that may Relate to His Majesty's Service, and which may be any way material to enable him (Major General Amherst) to execute the Command the King had been pleased to Honor him with.

Part of these Papers being at New York, I further acquainted Major General Amherst, that, in order to lose no Time, so soon as His Majesty's Service at Albany, and the Back Country wou'd permit me to quit that Place, I shou'd repair thither and wait his Arrival there, to give him what further Information shou'd occur either to him or me necessary for carrying into Execution the Orders he might receive.

The uncertainty of the Express Meeting with Major General Amherst at Boston, and the Detriment that might arise to His Majesty's Service, if Business should stand still untill His Arrival from Halifax if he was set out, made me determine to grant the Usual Beating Orders and Recruiting Instructions to the Several Regiments then in this Province.

Before I left Albany I received a Letter from Governor Pownall, to whose Care I had directed mine to M! Amherst

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 87.

² See letter of that date.

acquainting me that he had set out for Halifax on the 30th of October, and that he, the Governor, had forwarded my Letter by Sea; from whence I am in daily Expectations of seeing M. Amherst.

I have the Honor to be, with the greatest Respect, Sir, Your most obedient & most humble Servant. JAMES ABERCROMBY.

GENERAL ABERCROMBY TO PITT 1

New York, November 25th 1758.

* * * * * * *

The repeated Intelligence obtained, . . . being of such a Nature as to convince me, that our second Attempt upon Tienderoga, from the encrease of it's Works, and their Strength, wou'd be attended with greater Labour and Difficulties than our former Enterprize, and cou'd not possibly be undertaken, but by a Regular Siege, for which not only Artillery Officers and Men, as well as Engineers, would be requisite, but likewise a much longer time than the then present Season seemed to promise us, I thought I cou'd not too soon hasten up M! Amherst to consult with him on the Adviseableness and Practicability of such an Attempt under those Circumstances: Accordingly I sent him an Express, desiring he wou'd leave the Command of the Troops to the Eldest Officer, & join me himself so soon as possibly he could; which he did at the Lake, on the 5th, where having laid before him, and Brig! Gen. Gage, the several Matters before-mentioned, they were unanimously of opinion, that the intended Attempt, under our & the Enemies' then Circumstances was by no Means adviseable.

This Resolution making it needless to move up the Troops that had come with M. Amherst, who were encamped at

Greenbush near Albany, I ordered them to remain in their Encampment till the proper time for their going into Winter Ouarters, and M. Amherst, thinking his Presence necessary to the Eastward, he took his Leave of me on the 7th, in his return thither.1 Soon after M. Amherst quitted the Lake, I had Intelligence from Brig! Gen. Stanwix and Sir William Johnson, that a Body of the Enemy intended an Attack upon Fort Stanwix, the strong Post, w. I mentioned heretofore was building at the Oneida Station, upon which I immediately ordered Colonel Fraser 3 with the Battalion of Highlanders under his Command, forthwith to repair thither; the frequent alarms we have had from those Quarters, since I have been on the Continent, and most of all of them having turned out merely such, or at most a Scalping Party, made it needless to order any stronger Reinforcement at that Time, particularly as from the Numbers Mr Stanwix had already with him, and from the Defencibleness of his Post, which Lieut. Colonel Bradstreet reported to me to be à l'abri d'Insulte, against everything but Artillery 4 (which it was not probable the Enemy cou'd bring against it at that time) that Reinforcement was certainly very sufficient to repell any Insult the Enemy were able to offer on that Side.

However upon further Information from S! W. Johnson, the next Day, that the Enemy really did mean some stroke against that Post and the Settlements on the Mohawk River, I directly dispatched an Express to Colo. Burton, directing him to detatch the 2d Batt: of the Royal, & to order them to march Night and Day, till they joined M! Stanwix; and I further directed him to hold the other three Battalions in Readiness to march at a Moment's Warning, in Order, if, from the Intelligence he shou'd receive, it was necessary, he

¹ See Amherst's letter of October 13, 1758.

² A plan of the fort built in 1758 is given in Winsor, V. 528.

⁸ See note to letter of March 31, 1757.

⁴ Bradstreet left one thousand men of his force at Fort Stanwix upon his return from the capture of Fort Frontenac. Winsor, V. 527.

⁵ See note to letter of April 25, 1757.

might likewise, without waiting for further Directions, im-

mediately cause them to follow Fraser's & the Royal.

These Orders were scarce dispatched e'er I received a Letter from S. William Johnson, telling me that this Alarm had proved a false one; and Twelve Hours thereafter, I received another from Colo. Burton, acquainting me that from the Intelligence he had just then received from Sir W. Johnson, he had thought it proper, (altho' he himself cou'd not give Credit to that Intelligence) to march directly to Schenectady, and so on, if required, with the three Grenadier Companies, & Light Infantry that were at Greenbush, Col. Burton's Letter bears date the 11th October.

The Day following being then on his March, he received another Letter from S. William Johnson, containing certain Intelligence that this whole Alarm had been occasioned by only a small scalping Party of 30 French Indians, who had fired upon three Oneida Sachems, and had killed one of them, after which they had returned home; Upon this Letter, which Col. Burton forwarded to me, and which I enclose for your Perusal, he returned to Greenbush, with the three Companies of Grenadiers & Light Infantry of the three Battalions encamped there.

The Season for any further Operations during this Campaign being thus over, I made a Disposition of the Quarters to be occupied by the Troops during the Winter, and by a Circular Letter to the different Governors of the respective Provinces where they were to be garrisoned & cantoned, I gave them timely notice to prepare for their Reception against the 10th or 15th of this month, when it was most

likely nothing cou'd be feared from the Enemy.

But long before that time the Weather set in so wet and the Roads became so bad, that it was not prudent, to deferr any longer sending away our heavy Artillery, Ammunition, Stores & Batteaus, which we began to move by the 17th; and lucky it was we did, for what with the Depth of the Roads, and the Want of Cattle, which were very weak and poor by having been constantly worked during the Summer, I was obliged notwithstanding my having begun to move

2 D

them so soon, to leave several of the worst Batteaus, as well as some Naval Stores behind, the first of which were scuttled and sunk in the Lake, and the others buried in our Encampment—I likewise caused the Halifax Sloop to be dismasted and sunk, and had some of the Whale boats hid in the woods, in order that they may be at Hand for any Scouting Parties that may be order'd down the Lake, whenever it becomes practicable again, and that they are all so well sunk, buried and hid, that I do not imagine the Enemy will be able to discover them.—

By a Deserter, who came in the 24th, and had left Tienderoga three Days before, I learned, that Mt Montcalm, being informed of our motions, which it seems, they only waited to know, in order to move down their Troops into Winter Quarters, which had been settled for some Days, had immediately sent away Monst Rigaud de Vaudreuil, with Directions to prepare everything for their Reception, and had actually embarked his own Baggage, with a Design to follow him very shortly. . . . On the 26th I myself with the Van of the Army, quitted the Lake and proceeded to Fort Edward, . . . I set out from thence and continued my march to Albany, where I arrived the 28th.

That same Day, I had deliver'd to me a letter from Brig: General Stanwix of the 22nd October, mentioning that if they heard nothing certain of any strong Armament with Artillery between that and the Beginning of November, they might give up all Expectations of any considerable Visit for the then approaching Winter, which wou'd enable them to carry their Fort all round *en barbet*, cover their Casemates for 400 Men, and compleat their Ditch and Glassi; and that he was hopeful, he shou'd be able to leave Six Months Provisions

there for that Number. . . .

And on the 3th of November following . . . he adds, I hope to dismiss every sort of Troops from this Station, the Garrison & Rangers excepted, by the 15th if not sooner, because if we are happy enough to get 8 Days fair Weather, I shall have the Casemates all cover'd both Bomb and Water Proof, for between four & five Hundred Men, and the

Rangers will be hutted without; and concludes with, in the said 8 fine Days, our whole Fort will be compleatly en barbet; at which Crisis, I propose to leave this to receive your further Commands at Albany, whither he did arrive the day before my departure, and proposes to continue in the Command I had allotted him, untill Major General Amherst informs him of his future destination. . . . So early as the Latter end of August, upon a Letter I had from Brig! Gen! Stanwix, that Lieut. Col. Bradstreet was to have embarked the 20th of said month, I wrote to him in Answer, that as I shou'd have Occasion for M. Bradstreet's Services at the Lake, I desired he wou'd inform him thereof upon his Return, . . . I some time after received a Letter from Colonel Bradstreet of the 8th September, setting forth, that he was just returned, with the Troops under his Command to the Oneida Station, and that so soon as he had made an equal Distribution of the Effects brought from Fort Frontenac, he would proceed to Albany, where he shou'd be glad to have my Commands for his future Conduct.

And on the 16th I had two other Letters from him, the first from the Oneida Carrying Place, dated the 9th, apologising for his not having sent me the Capitulation and List of Prisoners, owing, he said, to his not having had time to get them copied, but that he shou'd get it done as soon as pos-

sible. . . .

On the 22nd Col^o Bradstreet not having come nor yet having sent me the Capitulation, I again wrote to him, and desired, that immediately upon the Receipt of that Letter, he wou'd set out & repair to the Lake with all possible Dispatch, as no Time ought to be lost in sending a Flagg of Truce to the Governor of Canada, to summon the Execution of that Capitulation. Accordingly, Colo. Bradstreet did set out, & reached the Lake the 26th.

After having delivered to me the Capitulation, and the Lists of the Prisoners, which I enclose, together with Copies of the several Letters before recited, I asked him to give me

¹ The terms of surrender are given in N.Y. Col. Doc., X. 825.

a Report in writing of his Proceedings since the Time of his embarking on Lake Ontario untill that of His Return to Albany . . . All that I have been able to pick up is: -That he has burnt & destroyed the Fort and Vessells, as well as a vast quantity of Provisions, and that after having knocked off the Truneons of the Guns of the Fort, he returned with a Quantity of Powder & a considerable Booty of Furrs, & sundry other goods which were lodged their to serve as Presents for the Indians, amounting, the Furrs & Goods alone, to at least 800,000 Livres, which I understand he has distributed among the Troops, that were with him in equal Proportions, without reserving any Share of it to himself, and that after having taken out of the two Vessels which he brought off with him the Guns & Powder, (which are left at Fort Stanwix) & landed all the Goods, he likewise set fire to and destroyed them; by which means the French have lost all the Vessels they had on that Lake, five in Number, besides a very great Quantity of Naval Stores, that were laid up in the Fort, ready to equip any others they might have Occasion for, but I do not find he met with any Boats there.

When Col^o Bradstreet joined me, I had a Scouting Party down the Lake, watching the Motions of the Enemy, and as the Laws of War forbid the sending any Flaggs of Truce, to any Place where you have Parties out, I was obliged to wait its Return, before I cou'd summon M! Vaudreuil to fulfil the terms of the Capitulation, which delaid it till the 1st October, when I sent Copies of the Capitulation and Lists of Prisoners, telling him at the same time, that as it was upwards of a Month since the Reduction of Fort Frontenac, I had flatter'd myself, that agreeable to Mor Noyan's (the French Commandant) Engagement, & consideration of the good Usage the King his Master's Subjects had met with from Col. Bradstreet and the Troops under his Command, Col. Schuyler, with so many of His Majesty's Subjects then Prisoners of War in Canada as wou'd equal the Number and Rank of those permitted by the Capitulation to return to Montreal, wou'd agreable thereto have been, long e'er

that, sent me back, which not being the Case, I must now insist on their being returned without Delay, to prevent which, I further empower'd Col? Schuyler to make the Exchange, and for that Purpose likewise sent him Duplicates of the Papers I have enclosed to Mr. Vaudreuil.

In my Letter to Col^o Schuyler,² I added that His Majesty had been pleased to order me to comply with his Memorial in Relation to the Monies he had advanced to sundry of his Fellow Captives, whilst detained in Canada, which shall be punctually obeyed, agreable to your Letter of 10th June.

* * * * * * *

On the 12th November, I received a Letter from Colonel Prevost,³ acquainting me that on the preceding Day, Col⁵ Schuyler and a Number of other Prisoners from Canada had been conducted to Fort Edward by a Flagg of Truce,⁴ who was charged with a Packet for me, containing another Letter from Mons. Vaudreuil of the 1st setting forth that agreable to his foregoing, he had, so soon as possibly he cou'd, fulfilled the Capitulation of Frontenac, transmitting at the same Time a list of the Prisoners taken near the Ohio, on the 14th September last,⁵ who, he says, are very pressing with him to be exchanged, or released on their Parole, upon which Occasion he renews his Proposal of the Exchange I mentioned in my Letter of the 8th September, having declin'd.

Ignorant of His Majesty's Pleasure on that Head, and not doubting but Major General Amherst will receive Orders relative thereto; I have thought proper not to take any Notice of M! Vaudreuil's Letter, till his Arrival, when I shall lay the whole before him, to do therein as he sees best for His Majesty's Service and Interest.

Abercromby's letters to De Vaudreuil and to Schuyler, with the Marquis's reply and list of English prisoners, are in N.Y. Col. Doc., X. 878-884.

<sup>See note to letter of April 28, 1758.
See note to letter of August 19, 1758.</sup>

⁴ For Prevost's acknowledgment to the commanding officer at Ticonderoga, see N.Y. Col. Doc., X. 897.

⁵ See letter of October 20, 1758.

As Col^o Schuyler and the Prisoners mentioned in the first List, were not come down to Albany when I set out, nor that the Colonel has not wrote to me, I cannot tell you whether they answer, in Rank, or Numbers, those they were exchanged against, I see there are among them several of the Inhabitants of the Mohawk River, who, I doubt not, will immediately upon their Arrival at Albany, have gone to their Homes.

I have the Honor to be, with the greatest Regard and Esteem, Sir,

Your most obedient & most Humble Servant JAMES ABERCROMBY.

GENERAL FORBES TO PITT 1

PITTSBOURGH. th Novem 1758.

Sir,

I do myself the Honour of acquainting you that it has pleased God to crown His Majesty's Arms with Success over all His Enemies upon the Ohio, by my having obliged the Enemy to burn and abandon Fort Du Quesne, which they effectuated on the 25th, and of which I took possession next day, the Enemy having made their Escape down the River towards the Missisippi in their Boats, being abandoned by their Indians, whom I had previously engaged to leave them, and who now seem all willing and ready to implore His Majesty's most Gracious Protection. So give me leave to congratulate you upon this great Event, of having totally expelled the French from this prodigious tract of Country, and of having reconciled the various tribes of Indians inhabiting it to His Majesty's Government.

It would be too tedious for a Letter to enter into the detail how this Affair has been brought to a conclusion, I have

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 87.

² The fort was blown up by the French. See a letter of Governor Sharpe in Md. Arch., IX. 313.

therefore thought it proper and necessary to send over to you Brigade Major Halkett whose serving with me all this Campaign, and knowing from whence Events arose will be able to give you a true & succinct Account of the whole Affair from the beginning. I beg to recomend that Gentleman to your Protection, whose Zeal and abilities in the Service have been particularly distinguished, not only in this but in every preceding Campaign from the beginning of the war in this Country, and whose Father S! Peter Halkett,¹ lost his life at the Monongahela under Gen! Braddock.

I should have carried the troops up the River to the Lake Erie, and destroyed the French posts at Venango and Presque Isle,² but the Season of the Year, and the Scarcity of my Provisions, does by no Means admitt of it, this last inconveniance (being obliged to carry every bit of my Provisions for Man and horse for betwixt 3 & 400 Miles thro' almost impracticable roads and Mountains) renders it extreamly difficult for me to leave a sufficient Garrison here for the Protection of this Country, as all Manner of Communication with the inhabited parts of the provinces will be cut off during the Winter for at least four Months, notwithstanding that I have built Forts, and erected Posts at proper distances, to have kept the Communication open if possible.

Altho' that I have made frequent Applications not only to the Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces for his Orders, and instructions but likewise to the Governours of the adjacent colonies and Provinces for their Advice and Councill how I was to behave myself in case that I was so fortunate as to render myself Master of Fort Du Quesne, and the Country of the Ohio, yet I have never been favoured

² Venango was a French post on the Allegheny, also known as Fort Machault. Presque Isle was on Lake Erie, where the town of Erie now

stands. The French put up a fort there in 1753.

¹ A baronet of Nova Scotia. He served against the Jacobites in 1745, and was made colonel of the 44th Regiment in 1751. He was killed at the head of his regiment, in 1755, and his bones lay unburied where he fell until they were discovered by his son in 1759.

with any of their Sentiments upon that Subject, except in one letter from the Lieut Govern! of Virginia, wherein he tells me that his Assembly and Councill would not venture to give any opinion, but at the same time acquaints me that they had addressed him to recall their troops by the first day of decem^r, therefore having been left to act intirely from my own judgement hitherto, I must beg His Majesties Indulgence that He would be graciously pleased to attribute my faults or omissions that I may have made, to my want of greater abilities and not to want of Zeal for His Majesty's Service, which I shall ever think my duty to exert to the utmost of my power. As thus you see Sir, that I am without advice or Orders, and that I very soon run a risque of being without troops if Pennsilvania recalled theirs as well as Virginia, I shall soon be greatly difficulted how to maintain our new conquest should the Énemy return, as I will have only 4 Companies of the Royal Americans and Col? Montgomery's young Battalion to depend upon, both greatly impaired as to Numbers by their frequent skirmishes with the Enemy during the Campaign.1

This far I had wrote at Fort Du Quesne upon the 27th Novem! since which time I have never, either been able to write, or capable to dictate a letter; but as General Amherst acquainted me that he had sent to you my letter with the Accounts of my taking the place, I was the less anxious of sending Major Halkett, but now dreading my silence may have some wrong construction put upon it when the true cause is unknown it will very well bear, I now send you the Major who must give you the best Accounts he can, untill I am able to write more circumstantially, which I hope will be by the first Packett, altho' my Physicians and all our Hospital People unanimously agree that I must go directly for England for to save my life, I must therefore beg it as the greatest favour that you will be so good as to move His Majesty to be graciously pleased to give me His leave of

¹ Forbes left a garrison of two hundred provincials in winter-quarters at Fort DuQuesne.

returning home as soon as I possibly can in order to reestablish my health, which at present renders me incapable

of any service, or doing any duty whatever.

I must likewise take the boldness, to beg your Countenance & Protection with His Majesty of having me restored to my Rank which is one day antecedent to Gen! Amherst as Lieut. Col. — Had I ever committed any fault, or been guilty of any misdeamenor in the Service, I should be now ashamed of making this Application to you, but the having so many people put over my head, without my being sensible of any faux pas committed, has made and still makes the deepest impression on my mind. If Lord Ligonier pleases to let you know the hardness of my case, I flatter myself with the protection and Service of M! Pitt, to restore me to Peace of mind.

I have used the freedom of giving your name to Fort Du Quesne, as I hope it was in some measure the being actuated by your spirits that now makes us Masters of the place. Nor could I help using the same freedom in the naming of two other Forts that I built (Plans of which I send you) the one Fort Ligonier & the other Bedford. I hope the name Fathers will take them under their Protection, In which case these dreary deserts will soon be the richest and most fertile of any possest by the British in N. America. I have the honour to be with great regard and Esteem Sir,

Your most obed. & most hum! serv!

Jo: Forbes.

PHILADELPHIA. 21st January 1759.

¹ Forbes was made lieutenant-colonel of the Scots Greys on November 29, 1750. He served under Sir John Ligonier at the battle of Laffeldt, in 1747. In 1757 Ligonier was created Viscount Ligonier of Enniskillen. Forbes was made colonel of the 17th Foot on February 25, 1757. Shortly afterward he was sent to America as adjutant-general, and on December 28 was made brigadier there. Amherst seems to have become lieutenant-colonel of the 15th Regiment in 1756. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

GOVERNOR SHARPE TO PITT1

Annapolis the 28th of Nov 1758.

Sir

I do myself the honour to acknowledge the Receit of Your Letter dated the 18th of Septr whereby you were pleased to advise me of His Majesty's having thought fit to appoint Major General Amherst Commander in Chief of All his Forces in North America, & were also pleased to direct me to Correspond with His Excellency & to obey such Orders as he may at any time think proper to send me which I shall carefully do. According to the last Accounts that have been received here from the Westward General Forbes reached the Post at Loval Hannon 2 the 2d Inst, & was then in a pretty good State of Health. On the 13th a Detachment of a thousand Men marched thence to open a Road towards Fort Du Quesne, & as many more followed them the 15th. the 16th Inst. Part of the Artillery moved on escorted by Colo. Montgomerie with 700 Men & the General was to march the next Day with about a thousand more, which exclusive of 600 that were to remain at Loyalhannon were all the Men that were then with him. I am informed that one Johnson who had been some time among the French & was coming out with a Party of them to take away or kill some more of the General's Horses was taken Prisoner the 12th of this Month as were two of the Enemy's Indians on the 14th, & that if their Intelligence is to be depended on, the Commanding Officer at Fort Du Quesne did upon the Return of the Detachment that attacked & defeated some of our Troops near the Camp at Loyalhannon the 12th of Octr send off a considerable Part of his Garrison & many of their Indians, imagining that General Forbes would not be able to proceed any farther this Campaign for want of the Horses which that Detachment killed or carried off with them, & which it is said were more than 200, a Number that by all Accounts he

² See Sharpe's letter of August 27, 1758.

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 71. Printed in Md. Arch., IX. 303.

could indeed but very ill spare. As the Weather has been very good for this fortnight past & still continues favourable, I am in hopes that the Troops have before this time overcome all the Difficulties that they may have expected to meet with on their March & that by a Vessel which is to sail hence in 8 or 10 Days for London I shall be able to send you an agreeable Account of the Event of this Western Expedition.¹ Being obliged to return home from the Frontiers to meet the Assembly at this time I have press't them to provide for the Payment of the Maryland Troops that have continued with the General during the Campaign, but I am afraid they will never agree to raise Money on any Account whatever unless the Gentlemen of the Upper House will pass the Bill which they have so often refused & concerning which I took the Liberty to write to you in former Letters.

[No signature.]

PITT TO GENERAL HOPSON²

WHITEHALL Nov. 30th 1758.

Sir,
I take the Opportunity of the sailing of the Lancaster Man of War, to acquaint you, that, agreably to what you suggested to me,³ Orders have been given for providing Four Months Provisions of all Species for 7000 Soldiers, and It is hoped, that the same will be ready to proceed for Barbados in about a month.

I am also to inform you, that His Majesty has been pleased to order the seven Additional Companies of Highlanders, that have been raised in addition to the 42nd Regiment of Foot, to be embarked in Scotland, and to proceed off Carlisle Bay, in order to join you, and It is hoped that in Case of a lucky Passage, They may arrive in such Time as to

¹ See preceding letter.

² A. and W. I., vol. 78.

³ See letter of November 8, 1758.

prove a useful Reinforcement during the Course of your Operations at Port St Pierre, and Port Royal; 1 But, under the great uncertainty when these Troops may be able to reach their Destination, It is the King's Express Pleasure, that you do not, on any Account, delay the carrying into Execution the Orders, prescribed by your Instructions, one Moment, in expectation of the Arrival of the Reinforcement above mentioned, but you will leave such orders at Carlisle Bay, as you shall judge necessary, for their proceeding to join you as soon as possible: — Captain Anstruther, who is already with you, is to command these Seven Companies of Highlanders, with the Rank of Major, and a Brevet for that purpose will be sent to Him by the first opportunity. I send you herewith Duplicate of my Letter of the 13th Inst (the Original of which goes with the above Troops), by which you will see His Majesty's Orders for the farther Destination of these Highland Companies.2

I am &cª

W. PITT.

GOVERNOR POWNALL TO PITT³

Boston Dec. 8th 1758.

Sir,

In my letters of Sept! 30 and Oct! 30⁴ I had the honor to lay before you the Services engaged in by the Province Messachusetts Bay for the year 1758. And as we trust in his Majesty's most gracious Promises and your kind Patronage to the Colonies that strong Recommendations will be made to Parliament in their Sessions of next Year for a proper Compensation for these Services according to the Active Vigour and strenuous Efforts we have made, I do humbly beg leave to lay before you an Estimate of the Cost of raising paying etc. 7,000 Men by the Government of Messachusetts

¹ See letter of November 13, 1758.

² See letter of that date.

³ A. and W. I., vol. 71.

Bay for the Service under the Command of Gen! Abercromby

in the year 1758.1

In the name of the Province which I have the honor to command I beg to return our most dutifull & hearty thanks for the Reimbursment $(27,380,19.11\frac{1}{2})$ granted to this Province for the Expenses incurred by it in the Year 1756 in supplying Provision to the Troops,² as it will greatly promote or may greatly obstruct the Measures for raising troops next year, as we shall have or not the money in the Treasury of the Province for carrying on the Same: And as the two houses of Legislature here, the Council and Assembly, cannot agree upon a Person to receive the same for us in England, in duty to the Province which may be so much distressed for want of the money next Spring, and in Regard to his Majesty's Service which may suffer by the delay, I do humbly propose that the Money be sent consigned to Harrison Grey Esq. at Boston Treasurer and Receiver General of the Province Messachusetts Bay or to the Treasurer and Receiver General for the time being who is empower'd to give a discharge in the Name of the Province for all summs due to the Province receiv'd by him. Which Transaction may be negociated by the Crown's Contractors in the same manner as the Reimbursment granted in the year 1755 was negociated. Enclosed is a Certificate under the Public Seal of the Province that Harrison Grey is Treasurer etc: - Or, altho' the difficulty between the Council & House may have made a doubt about our Agents power to receive the Money, yet if there be no doubt as to his negociating it as above he may be thought proper to do it. If it shou'd please the Parliament of G! Britain to grant the Province a Compensation 3 agreeable to the strong Recommendations which shall be made in our favor, I wou'd humbly hope, if the two Houses of Legislature here do not by that time agree upon some Person to receive it for us in England that That Sum may also be sent in the

² See letter of September 30, 1758, and notes.

¹ See note to letter of March 14, 1758.

³ A grant of £200,000 was made to the North American colonies in the sessions of 1759. 32 George II. c. 36.

same Way; As the arrival of that recompense will give a Vigour to the Province in the King's Service equall to His Majesty's highest expectations from it. Whereas the want of this will clog every Effort that the Spirit which the People have for the Service, wou'd make.

I have the honor to be Sir
Yr most Obedient & most Humble Servant
T. POWNALL.

PITT TO GOVERNORS OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY, NEW HAMPSHIRE, CONNECTICUT, RHODE ISLAND, NEW YORK, NEW JERSEY¹

WHITEHALL 9th Decem! 1758.

Sir,

His Majesty having Nothing so much at Heart, as to improve the great and important advantages gained the last Campaign; as well as to repair the Disappointment at Tionderoge; ² and, by the most vigorous and extensive Efforts, to avert, by the Blessing of God on his Arms, all dangers, which may threaten North America from any future Irruptions of the French; And the King not doubting, that all His faithfull and Brave Subjects there, will chearfully Co-Operate with, and second to the utmost, the large Expence and extraordinary Succours, supplied by this Kingdom, for their Preservation and Defence; And His Majesty considering that the several Provinces in Particular, from Proximity and Accessibility of Situation, more immediately Obnoxious to the main Irruptions of the Enemy from Canada, are, of themselves, well able to furnish, at least, Twenty Thousand Men, to join a Body of the Kings Forces, for invading Canada by the way of Crown Point, and carrying War into the Heart of the Enemy's Possessions; And His

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 76. Printed in Col. Rec. of R.I., III. 178; Corr. Col. Governors of R.I., II. 280; N.H. Prov. Papers, VI. 703; N.Y. Col. Doc., VII. 350; N.J. Arch., IX. 149.

Majesty not judging it expedient to limit the zeal and Ardour of any of His Provinces, by making a Repartition of the Force to be raised by Each respectively, for this most important Service; I am Commanded to Signify to you the Kings Pleasure, that you do forthwith Use your Utmost Endeavours and Influence with the Council and Assembly of your Province, to induce them to raise, with all possible Dispatch, within your Government, at least as large a Body of Men as they did for the last Campaign, and even as many more, as the Number of its Inhabitants may allow; and, forming the same into Regiments, as far as shall be found Convenient, that you do direct them to hold themselves in readiness, as early as may be, to march to the Rendezvous at Albany, or such other Place, as His Majesty's Commander in Chief in America shall Appoint, in Order to proceed from thence, in Conjunction with a Body of the King's British Forces, and under the Supreme Command of His Majesty's said Commander in Chief in America, so as to be in a situation, to begin the Operations of the Campaign, by the 1st of May, if possible, or as soon after, as shall be any way practicable, by attempting to make an Irruption into Canada as above, by the way of Crown Point; and, if found practicable, to Attack either Montreal, or Quebeck, or both of the said Places, successively, with the whole Force in One Body, or at One and the same time, by a Division of the Troops into separate and distinct Operations, according as His Majesty's Commander in Chief shall, from his knowledge of the Countries, through which the War is to be carried, and from emergent Circumstances not to be known here, judge any of the said Attempts to be practicable; And the better to facilitate this important Service, The King is pleased to Leave it to you, to Issue Commissions to such Gentlemen of your Province, as you shall judge, from their Weight and Credit with the People, and their Zeal for the Publick Service, may be best disposed, and able, to quicken and effectuate the speedy Levying of the greatest Number of Men; in the disposition of which Commissions, I am persuaded, you will have nothing in View, but the Good of the King's Service,

and a due Subordination of the whole, when joined, to His Majesty's Commander in Chief; And all Officers of the Provincial Forces, as high as Colonels inclusive, are to have Rank according to their several respective Commissions, agreeable to the Regulations contained in His Majesty's

Warrant of the 30th of December, last year. The King is further pleased to furnish all the Men, so raised as above, with Arms, Ammunition and Tents, as well as to order Provisions to be issued to the same, by His Majesty's Commissaries, in the same proportion and manner, as is done to the rest of the King's Forces. A sufficient Train of Artillery will also be provided at His Majesty's Expence, for the Operations of the Campaign; And the Ship, that Conveys this, carries Orders for timely providing, at the King's Charge, with the utmost Diligence, and in an ample manner, Boats and Vessels necessary for the Transportation of the Army on this Expedition. The whole therefore, that His Majesty expects and requires from the several Provinces, is, the Levying, Cloathing, and Pay, of the Men; And, on these Heads also, that no Encouragement may be wanting to this great and salutary Attempt, the King is further most graciously pleased to permit me to acquaint you, that strong Recommendations will be made to Parliament, in their Session, next year, to grant a proper Compensation for such Expences as above, according as the Active Vigour and strenuous Efforts of the respective Provinces shall justly appear to merit.

It is His Majesty's Pleasure, that you do, with particular Diligence, immediately Collect, and put into the best Condition, all the Arms, issued last Campaign, which can be any ways rendered serviceable, or that can be found within your Government, in Order that the same may be employed, as far as they will go, in this Exigency. I am at the same time to acquaint you, that a reasonable Supply of Arms will be sent from England, to replace such, as may have been

lost, or that become unfit for future Service.

I am further to inform you, that similar Orders are sent by this Conveyance to New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode

Island, New York, and New Jersey; The Southern Governments are also directed to raise Men in the same manner; to be employed in such Offensive Operations, as the Circumstances and Situation of the Enemy's Posts in those Parts may point Out, which, it is hoped, will Oblige them so to divide their Attention and Forces, as will render the several Attempts more easy and successfull.

It is unnecessary to add any Thing, to animate your Zeal, in the execution of His Majesty's Orders, on this great Occasion, where the future Safety and Welfare of America & of your own Province in Particular are at Stake; and the King doubts not, from your known Fidelity and Attachment that You will Employ yourself, with the utmost Application

and dispatch, in this urgent and decisive Crisis.

Altho' the knowledge of an Intention to invade Canada is apprehended, not only to be unattended with any Inconvenience, but necessary to be propagated in the Provinces, in order to give success to the Levies; Yet, as Secresy in all Enterprizes on particular places, is of the greatest Importance, The King is persuaded, that you will Use all proper Discretion in communicating, by Name, any of the immediate Objects before pointed Out, further than to such Persons, to whom it may be necessary, for the good of the Service, Confidentially to intrust the same. I am Gentlemen

Your most obedient humble Servant,

W. PITT

PITT TO GOVERNORS OF PENNSYLVANIA, MARYLAND, VIRGINIA, NORTH CAROLINA, SOUTH CAROLINA²

WHITEHALL, 9th Dec. 1758.

Sir,

His Majesty having nothing so much at heart as to improve the great and important Advantages gained the last

¹ Words underlined omitted to Connecticut & Rhode Island.

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² A. and W. I., vol. 76. Printed in Penn. Col. Rec., VIII. 272; Md. Arch., IX. 307.

Campaign, as well as to repair the Disappointment at Tionderoge; and, by the most vigorous and extensive Efforts, to avert, by the Blessing of God on his Arms, all Dangers, which may threaten North America from any future Irruptions of the French; and the King not doubting, that all his Faithfull and Brave Subjects there, will chearfully cooperate with, and second to the utmost, the large Expence, and extraordinary Succours, supplied by this Kingdom, for their Preservation & Defence; and His Majesty considering, that the several Provinces from Pensylvania inclusive, to the Southward, are well able with proper encouragements, to furnish a Body of several Thousand Men, to join the King's Forces in those Parts, for some Offensive Operations against the Enemy; and His Majesty not judging it expedient to limit the Zeal & Ardor of any of His Provinces, by making a Repartition of the Forces to be raised by each, respectively, for this most important Service; I am commanded to signify to You the King's Pleasure, that you do forthwith use your utmost Endeavours & Influence with the Council & Assembly of your Province to induce them to raise, with all possible Dispatch, within your Government, at least as large a Body of Men, as they did for the last Campaign, and even as many more as the Number and Situation of Its Inhabitants may allow, [The words and Situation to be omitted to Pennsylvania, & No Carolina. To Maryland, instead of the words underlined, as large a Body of Men, as the Numbers and Situation of Its Inhabitants may allow, (in the due Performance of which Service. It is hoped and expected they will not again fail in their Duty to the King, as they did the last Campaign).] And forming the same into Regiments, as far as shall be found convenient, that you do direct them to hold themselves in readiness, as early as may be, to march to the Rendezvous, at such Place or Places, as may be named for that Purpose, by the Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in America, or by the Officer who shall be appointed to Command the King's Forces, in those Parts, in order to proceed from thence, in con-

junction with a Body of His Majesty's British Forces, and under the Supreme Command of the Officer to be appointed as above, so as to be in a Situation to begin, by the First of May, if possible, or as soon after as shall be any way practicable, such offensive Operations, as shall be judged by the Commander of His Majesty's Forces in those Parts, most expedient for annoying the Enemy, & most efficacious towards removing & repelling the Dangers, that threaten the Frontiers of any of the Southern Colonies on the Continent of America; And the better to facilitate this important Service, the King is pleased to leave it to you to issue Commissions to such Gentlemen of your Province, as you shall judge from their Weight & Credit with the People, and their Zeal for the Publick Service, may be best disposed and enabled to quicken and effectuate the speedy Levying of the greatest Number of Men; In the Disposition of which Commissions, I am persuaded you will have nothing in view, but the good of the King's Service, and a due subordination of the whole, when joined, to His Majesty's Commander - And all officers of the Provincial Forces, as high as Colonels, inclusive, are to have Rank according to their several respective Commissions, agreable to the Regulations, contained in His Majesty's Warrant of the 30th of December last year.

The King is further pleased to furnish all the Men, so raised as above, with Arms, Ammunition, & Tents, as well as to order Provisions to be issued to the same, by His Majesty's Commissaries, in the same Proportion and Manner, as is done to the Rest of the King's Forces; And a sufficient Train of Artillery will also be provided at His Majesty's Expence for the Operations of the Campaign: The whole therefore, that the King expects & requires from the several Provinces, is, the Levying, Cloathing & Pay of the Men, And, on these Heads also, that no Encouragement may be wanting to the fullest Exertion of your Force; His Majesty is farther, most graciously pleased to permit me to acquaint you, that strong Recommendations will be made to Parliament, in their Session next year, to grant a proper Compensation for such Expences as above, according

as the active Vigor, and strenuous Efforts of the respective

Provinces shall justly appear to merit.

It is His Majesty's Pleasure, that you do, with particular Diligence, immediately collect & put into the best Condition all the Arms issued last Campaign, which can be any ways render'd Serviceable, or that can be found within your Government, in order that the same may be employed, as far as they will go in this Exigency. I am, at the same Time to acquaint you that a reasonable Supply of Arms, will be sent from England to replace such as may have been lost, or have become unfit for future Service.

I am further to inform you, that similar Orders are sent by this Conveyance, to Maryland, Virginia, Nº Carolina & So. Carolina. — The Northern Governments are also directed to raise Men in the same Manner, to be employed in such offensive Operations, as the Circumstances and Situation of the Enemy's Possessions in those Parts may point out, which, it is hoped, will oblige them so to divide their Attention & Forces, as will render the several Attempts more easy and successfull.

It is unnecessary to add any thing to animate your Zeal in the Execution of His Majesty's Orders on this great Occasion, where the future Safety and Welfare of America, and of your own Province in particular, are at Stake; And the King doubts not, from your known Fidelity & Attachment, that you will employ yourself, with the utmost Application and

Dispatch in this urgent & decisive Crisis.

I am &ca

W. PITT.

PITT TO GENERAL AMHERST 1

WHITEHALL. Decem! 9th 1758.

Sir,

Major Gen! Abercromby having, in his Letter of the 12th July last, acquainted me that, "It was proposed, that two strong Forts, capable of containing 500 Men each, should

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 76.

² See letter of that date.

be immediately built at Lake George, and at the Oneida Carrying Place; 1 but as he does not apprehend his Instructions extend to the Building of Forts, and that the Expence of them would run very high, he thought it best to defer them, untill he had received His Majesty's Commands thereupon, and, mean while, he had ordered both those Posts to be strengthened with Block Houses, and such other Works as will make them sufficiently respectable for the Present, and put the Publick to but a small Expence." I am now to inform you, that the King, considering the great Utility, that may arise from having some proper respectable Fort, at each of the two Places above mentioned, (the Post at the Oneida Carrying Place, appearing in the most particular Manner, as well as That at Lake George, to be of the highest & most essential Importance) is pleased to allow you to direct a Fort, capable of containing a sufficient Garrison, to be built at the Oneida Carrying Place, & another at Lake George, on such Ground, and agreeable to such Plan, as you shall judge may best answer the great object of effectually securing & defending those two Posts, and it is the King's Pleasure, that you do consider of the said Important Service, and, with as little Delay as may be, transmit Plans of the said proposed Forts, adapted, as you shall think most proper, to the two respective Situations, together with some Computation of what the Expence of each Fort, may, probably, amount to; and His Majesty is persuaded, that, in the Execution of a Work of this Nature, you will take particular Care, not to suffer any unnecessary Expence to be incurred.

On the 28th September I receiv'd the Favor of your Letters of the 28th & 30th August,2 which were immediately laid before the King; and I have since had an Account from Gov! Pownal, that, on the 12th Sept.,3 you were arrived off

A carry of one mile between the Mohawk river and Wood Creek, at Rome, New York. Here Fort Stanwix was built. An excellent account with map of this important portage is given in Hulbert, *Historic Highways*, VII. 135–150. Fort George, at the head of that lake, was begun by Amherst, but never completed.

² See letters of those dates.

³ See Pownall's letter of that date.

Boston, with the Troops under your Command; His Majesty does not doubt, but you used all possible Expedition in disembarking the Men, and proceeding on Your March, and the King hopes that you may have arrived in time, to make some effectual Impression on the Enemy, before the Conclusion of the Campaign.

On the 30th October, I received Major General Abercromby's Dispatches of the 8th and 10th Septr with the News of Colonel Bradstreet's Success in the difficult Enterprize against Cadaraqui, which he had planned with so much Judgement, and executed with equal Activity and Resolution. And it is the King's Pleasure, that you should acquaint Col. Bradstreet with His Majesty's most particular Satisfaction in his Zeal and Bravery on this Occasion; And you will also express, in a proper manner, to the Officers and Men employed under him, That the King has a just Sense of their good Behaviour in that Expedition.

I am etcª

W. PITT.

PITT TO GENERAL AMHERST²

WHITEHALL 9th Dec. 1758.

Sir,

Not having received any Dispatches from North America since those from Major General Abercromby of the 8th & 10th September, and consequently being as yet uninformed in what Manner the Campaign has Concluded in those Parts, I am not able at present to send you the King's Instructions for the Operations of the next Year; But His Majesty has judged it expedient not to defer any longer dispatching His Orders to the several Governors in North America, for Levying the same, or a greater Number, if possible, of Men, than they did for the last Campaign, and the King's directions on this Subject are so fully stated, in the inclosed Copies of my Circular Letters to the Northern

¹ See letters of those dates.

² A. and W. I., vol. 76.

and Southern Governors, that I have only to add, that It is His Majesty's Pleasure, that you should exert your utmost Endeavors to incite and encourage the several Provinces to the full and due Execution of the King's Commands, in a matter so essential to their own future Welfare and Prosperity. You will particularly enforce that part of my Letter, which relates to the Collecting and Putting into a proper Condition, all the Serviceable Arms, that can be found in America, & not to allow the Service there to suffer, from a dependance on those, to be supplied from England: And I am persuaded It is unnecessary for me to caution you to use the same Attention & Care yourself, to have all the Arms, belonging to the Regular Forces in America, properly sur-

veyed, and repaired during the Winter.

As a very considerable Number of Boats & Vessells are built for the Service of the last Campaign, It is hoped the necessary Care will have been taken to preserve and secure them so as that the greater part thereof may, by proper Repairs, be rendered again serviceable for the ensuing Campaign. And It is the King's Pleasure that you should not lose a Moment's Time in having not only such as are remaining, refitted, but in building an ample and sufficient Quantity of Boats to replace those, which may have been lost or destroyed, and in providing such an additional Number, as shall be judged necessary: And you will see, by the enclosed Copy of my Letter to the Lieutenant Governor of New York,² that His Majesty's Orders are renewed to Him in the strongest manner to give you all possible Assistance in the Performance of this most necessary Service.

I expect soon to have the King's Commands to write fully to you; In the meantime His Majesty will be impatient to receive Letters from you with an Account of the State of Affairs in America, & of the Forces under your Command, to enable His Majesty the better to determine the future

Operations in those Parts.

² See the following letter.

¹ See Pitt's circular letters of this date.

The enclosed printed Accounts will inform you, that all the mighty Efforts of France & her Confederates in Germany, have, by the Blessing of God, been totally baffled & render'd abortive, & that the Campaign seems drawing to a Conclusion, so fruitless & humiliating for the Enemy, and so glorious for the Arms of His Majesty and those of the King of Prussia.

I am &c²:

W. PITT.

PITT TO LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR DE LANCEY 1

WHITEHALL Decr. 9th 1758.

Sir,

As in consequence of my separate Letter to you of the 30th Decr last Year,2 so considerable a Quantity of Boats was provided for the Service of His Majesty's Forces in North America, It is hoped, such Care will have been taken to secure & preserve the same, so as that the greater Part thereof may, by proper Repairs, be rendered serviceable again for the ensuing Campaign; But as it is not, at present, known here what Accidents may have happened, The King has commanded me to direct Major General Amherst to lose no Time in building an ample & sufficient Quantity of Boats to replace those which may have been lost or destroyed, & in providing such an additional Number as shall be judged necessary; I am now to signify to you the King's Pleasure, that you do give every Assistance, in your Power, to Gen! Amherst, in the Execution of this most essential Service, in the same Manner that you was directed to do last year, by my separate Letter above mentioned, in which His Majesty's Orders are so fully stated, that I need only refer you thereto, and I am persuaded it is unnecessary to add any thing to incite you to exert the Zeal and Attention you have constantly shewn to obey the King's Commands, and to forward His Service in America, by all means in your Power.

I am &cª

W. PITT.

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 76.

² See letter of that date.

PITT TO GOVERNOR POWNALL¹

WHITEHALL. Decem^r 9th: 1758.

Sir.

On the 7th Oct. I receiv'd Mr Oliver's Letter of the 14th August,² transmitting a Copy of the Intelligence you had receiv'd from Lieutenant Gov! Monckton,³ and acquainting me, that you had thereupon immediately set out, with a Reinforcement, to defend and secure the Eastern Frontier. And on the 12th of the same Month, I received the Favor of your Letter of the 12th Sept; ² giving an Account of your Return to Boston, having, by your Activity and Diligence, happily succeeded in the Object of your Expedition. You also inform me, in the same Letter, that Major General Amherst was then off the Port of Boston, and that you had taken every Measure in your Power for the good Reception and Accomodation of the Troops he had brought with him, and made all possible Preparations for their immediate March to Albany. These Marks, as well as the many Others that have appeared by the several Dispatches I have receiv'd from Major General Abercromby, of your constant Zeal and Attention for the King's Service, have met with His Majesty's most particular Approbation; And tho' I am persuaded, there wants nothing to animate you, to exert your utmost Abilities, on every Occasion, I would not defer giving you the Satisfaction to know, how graciously the King is pleased to receive your Endeavours to forward His Service in a Province of so much Importance, as that under your Government, and which has so frequently had a considerable Influence, with regard to the Conduct of some of the adjoining Colonies - And tho' I cannot, at present, return a particular Answer to your Letter of the 30th Sept! & 2^d Oct; ⁴ (receiv'd the 13th past) in which you so strongly represent the Situation of your Province, yet you may be assured, that all due Attention will be paid to the Services

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 76.

² See letter of that date.

³ Of Nova Scotia.

⁴ See letters of those dates.

they have rendered, and that as soon as their Agents, properly authorized, shall produce the necessary Documents their Case will be recommended to Parliament, in order to a reasonable Compensation, agreeable to the gracious Assurances, the King was pleased to allow me to give in my Letter of the 30th Decem^r last Year.

I am &c.

W. PITT.

A MEMORANDUM OF ORDERS SENT TO GENERAL AMHERST IN 1758 1

Dec! 9. To build Forts at Lake George & the Oneida

Carrying Place.

To invade Canada, by Crown Point, or La Dec. 29. Galette,2 or Both, as judged practicable & invade & attack Montreal, or Quebec or Both successively by the Forces in one Body, or at one & the same Time, by dividing the Forces into separate & distinct Operations, to give due Attention to Lake Ontario & facilitate as far as possible consistent with the main Operations, reestablishing Oswego, in the Course of ensuing Year, to concert for that purpose with L! Gov! of New York, & also for building sufficient & proper fort there—to be within (?) the Operations, on side of Ontario could be pushed to Niagara, & some Enterprize set on foot against the Fort there any Offensive Operations against the Fort there - any offensive Operations to the South, he shall judge most expedient to annoy the Enemy, & remove future Dangers from Southern Frontiers.

Jan. 23^d To restore or rebuild Fort Du Quesne — to consider early, & weigh duly, what may be undertaken with most reasonable prospect; whether to attempt Presqu'isle, if march from the Ohio to

¹ Chatham (Pringle) MSS., Bundle 98.

² See notes to letters of February 14, 1758, and October 22, 1759.

³ See note to letter of November 27, 1758.

that part of Lake Erie practicable, or endeavour to carry some Operations as far as Cayahoga,¹ or more Western parts of Lake Erie, if not impracticable from distance, as well as other Circumstances not known here.

GOVERNOR SHARPE TO PITT²

Annapolis the 14th of Decem 1758.

Sir

It is with great pleasure I write by a Ship that is just about to sail from this Province to inform you that an Officer of the Maryland Troops arrived here yesterday from the Westward & brought the agreeable News of His Majesty's Forces having on the 25th of November taken Possession of Fort Du Quesne³ which the French in Number about 500 had abandoned two Days before. A Lad that had been taken from the frontiers of Virginia sometime ago escaped from them as they were going off & says that about 250 of the Enemy fell down the River in Battoes carrying all the Artillery & Stores with them & that the Rest after they had set fire to all the Barracks & Houses which had been built either in or near the Fort went towards Venago4 which is about 60 miles up the Ohio. I understand from the Officer that brings me this Account that General Forbes intends to leave 200 of the Provincial Troops to garrison Fort Du Quesne during the winter, 150 more at the Post on Loyalhannon & that all the Rest of the Forces that served on this Expedition are on their march to take up their Winter Quarters either in the Forts on the Frontiers of these Colonies or among the Inhabitants.

[No signature.]

¹ Cleveland, Ohio.

² A. and W. I., vol. 71. Printed in Md. Arch., IX. 314.

³ See note to letter of November 28, 1758.

⁴ See letter of November 27, 1758. The post was burned by the retreating French in the following July.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR DE LANCEY TO PITT¹

New York. 17th Dec. 1758.

Sir,

I inclose a representation of the Council and Assembly of this Province made to me yesterday which they desired me to transmitt to you, it consists of two parts, one praying a reimbursement of their expences for the provisions furnished in the year 1756 which they hear Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut have already obtained; the other praying some consideration for the great expence the Province has been at this year and which from your Letter of December last they had some encouragement to hope for; I can add nothing to the Motives they have set forth in their representation (I believe the facts to be true) but only humbly to beg your favorable countenance and assistance whenever his Majesty shall be pleased to order the affairs of the Northern Colonies to be laid before his Parliament.2 . . . I beg leave to acquaint you, that a French letter of Marque ship of 26 twelve pounders, which went last Spring to Quebec, in her return towards Hispaniola, stopped to cruise on the Coasts of these Provinces, where she has taken 25 prizes coming to or going from this Port, Philadelphia and Virginia, one with the Cloathing and Baggage of the 47th Regiment, I take the Liberty to mention this to shew the Necessity of having some of the Kings ships to cruise here, as the great Success this ship has had will without doubt encourage others of the Enemy to infest these Coasts next year. I am with great esteem Sir.

Your most obedient & most humble Servant JAMES DE LANCEY.

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 71.

² See note to letter of December 8, 1758.

GENERAL ABERCROMBY TO PITT 1

NEW YORK, December 17th 1758.

Sir,

Altho' upon my Arrival here, I had Information that a French Privateer of great Strength had for some Time, been cruizing on and off this Coast, and had greatly annoyed the Trade, by capturing several Vessells bound to & from this Port, yet as the Merchants of this City, were sollicitous with me for the sailing of a Packet, I readily believed they had Intelligence of that Privateer having gone off with her Booty: Wherefore as well as for the Reasons mentioned in my Letter of the 25th Ulto I made no Scruple of granting their Request, but soon after hearing that one of the Transports from Boston with the Cloathing of the 47th Regiment, had then lately been taken by her, I thought it prudent to defer Dispatching the Packet, untill the Arrival of His Majesty's Ship the Nightingale, which I heard was on her way hither.

Waiting for the Nightingale I received Intelligence, that Maj. General Amherst was come to Boston, which made me lay aside all Thoughts of Dispatching any Packet; . . .

The Day Major General Amherst came to Town, an Express arrived from Brig! Gen: Forbes, with Letters for the Commander in Chief, containing Accounts of the Enemies having Evacuated Fort du Quesne, and after having set fire to it, being retired some one way, some another, of all which you will be more particularly inform'd by Major General Amherst. . . .

I am busy in sundering out the several Papers, Orders & Instructions, as well as Informations & Intelligences, that can any Ways tend to enable Major Gen. Amherst to discharge the Trust reposed in him by His Majesty; and so soon as that is done, and the Kennington (who I hear is destined to take me to Europe) is arrived, I shall embark in, and proceed with her on my Way to England, where I hope

to have the Satisfaction of expressing to you my great gratitude for your kind Indulgence & the high sense I have of the good Opinion, you are pleased to entertain of me.

Since my last Letters Col. Schuyler arrived here, and I

have granted him the Warrant you directed.

I have the Honour to be, with the greatest Respect, Sir, Your most obedient & most Humble Servant JAMES ABERCROMBY.

GENERAL AMHERST TO PITT 1

NEW YORK December the 18th 1758.

Sir.

On my Arrival the 12th instant at this Place, I had the Pleasure of receiving from M. General Abercromby, the enclosed Letter from B. General Forbes giving an Account of the Enemy having burned and abandoned Fort Du Quesne, and his taking possession of it. The last letter I did myself the honour of writing to you was on the 13th of Oct: 2 from New York, when I gave you an Account of my Intentions of setting out for Halifax the next day, where I arrived on the 7th of Nov! and on the 9th received by an Express from the Place a Duplicate of two Commissions bearing date the 16th & 17th of September, appointing me to be Commander in Chief of all the Forces to be employed in No America, . . .

With the above I had likewise the Satisfaction of receiving a Duplicate of your Letter of the 9th Sept.,2 acquainting me with the King's Approbation of my Conduct, which makes me very happy, and as no one can be more sensible than I am of the great Honour His Majesty has been most graciously pleased to confer on me in the Command of the Troops in America, I beg leave to assure you Sir, no one can be more desirous than I am to execute the King's Orders in such a Manner, as that I may prove myself deserving of this

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 89.

² See letters of these dates.

very great trust, and I will do it to the best of my Abilities

and Capacity.

Admiral Durell was daily expected at Halifax with the Fleet when I got there, so I thought it proper to wait his Arrival, and fix some necessary things at that place. the

Admiral arrived the 18th, ...

On the 20th I went on board, and by contrary Winds did not reach Boston till the 3th of December. I found the Regiments so settled at Halifax that I thought it better not to make any Alteration by sending some to Boston where the Artillery only is quartered. Br Gen: Monckton, I hear, sailed from S! John's the 21sth after having finished the Fort, and sent upwards of fourscore Neutrals to Halifax which he had taken Prisoners.

* * * * * * *

I have waited for Major Halket² from the 12th to this day expecting him hourly, and as I have as yet no Intelligence of him, I think it right not to wait any longer, but to dispatch the Packet Boat with B. General Forbes's Letter as I look on it as an event of great Importance, and Major Halket may take the Opportunity of going with the further Particulars in the Kennington Man of War which is expected here every day from Halifax for M. General Abercromby. I am with the utmost Respect Sir

Your most Humble and most Obedient Servant

[EFF: AMHERST.

GOVERNOR DOBBS TO PITT³

EDENTON 22 December 1758.

Sir

I had your favour of the 17th of September, acquainting me that his Majesty had appointed Gen! Amherst Comder in Chief of the Forces on this Continent and to correspond with

¹ The St. John's river. See Amherst's letter of August 10, 1758.

² Forbes's brigade-major. See letter of November 27, 1758.

⁸ A. and W. I., vol. 72. Printed in Col. Rec. of N.C., V. 986.

him, and to lay such Embargos as he shall find necessary for his Majesty's Service. I have accordingly wrote to him, and have desired that he might proportion what part of the £,50,000 we are to have for the Benefit of this poor Province, which has done its utmost to assist the Northern Provinces as well as S. Carolina in Case they wanted any Aid from us; and as it was your goodness which procured us that Sum for the Use of the Southern Provinces, and we were obliged to send 3 Companies which were to consist of 300 Men to the Ohio this Campaign upon your Letter last Spring, which we cou'd not pay abroad, having neither Money nor Credit to pay our Troops, I was obliged to write to Brig! Gen. Forbes to advance their pay upon the Credit of our Proportion of that Sum, which he has done and therefore hope you will be so good as to make that Sum be paid in order to have the Benefit of what his Majesty was pleased to allow this Province in part to reimburse above £66,000 raised in this Province for his Majesty's Service, above £38,000 of which was to assist the other Provinces; and it gives me great Pleasure to find that we have gained the End, by the French having deserted and burnt Fort Du Quesne, and retreated to Mississippi the 24th of last Month, by which means all the Indians have desired to join us, and they will be deprived of their Navigation and Trade of these Lakes -

I am with great Respect Sir

Your most obedient and most humble Servant ARTHUR DOBBS.

PITT TO GENERAL AMHERST²

WHITEHALL Dec: 29th 1758

Sir

His Majesty having nothing so much at heart as to improve the great and important advantages gained the last

¹ Parliament voted a grant of £50,000 to be distributed between North and South Carolina and Virginia. 30 George II. c. 26.

² A. and W. I., vol. 76. Printed in N.Y. Col. Doc., VII. 355.

Campaign as well as to repair the Disappointment at Ticonderoge, and, by the most vigorous & decisive Efforts, to establish, by the Blessing of God on his Arms, His Majesty's just and indubitable Rights, and to avert all future Dangers to His Majesty's Subjects in Nº America, I am now to acquaint you that the King has come to a Resolution to allot an adequate Proportion of His Forces in Nº America amounting (as you will see by the inclosed Paper containing the Destination of the Troops) to 12,005 - Men, to make an attack upon Quebeck, by the River S! Lawrence against which place they are to proceed from Louisburg, as early in the Year, as on or about, the 7th of May, if the season shall happen to permit, under the Direction of Brigadier Gen! Wolfe, whom the King has appointed for the Command of that Operation, and who will have the rank of Major General, for that Expedition only; - And I am to signify to you His Majesty's Pleasure that you do cause the several Regiments appointed by the said List, to be employed accordingly on that Service, without making any change therein, unless some alteration should be found absolutely necessary, from extraordinary Inconvenience, that might otherwise arise to the Service, from the unforseen Circumstances or Situation, of any particular Reg! or Regim!s, in the Allotment, herewith transmitted, of the Forces destined for the above operation; and, in case it should be found absolutely necessary to change any Reg! or Regiments in the said Allotment, you are to take especial care, that notwithstanding any such Change of particular Corps, the Total of Regular Forces prescribed & fixed for this Service, do amount to the full Number, allotted in the inclosed Paper, for the same. - It is also the King's Pleasure, that you do forthwith cause such Part of the Troops above mentioned, except Gen! Brag's Reg!, which is already at Louisburg, to be so disposed, that they may be ready, and embarked, at New York, Boston, Halifax or such other place, as shall be most convenient, on board the Transports, which shall be provided for that purpose, in such time, as that all the Troops abovenamed for this Service, may be rendezvoused at Cape Breton, as nearly as may be, on, or

2 F

about, the 20th of April if the Season shall happen to permit, and you will without Loss of time, -dispatch all necessary Orders and in particular to the Governor, or Commander in Chief at Halifax, to the Gov! of Louisburg, with regard to any Troops in their respective Departments, destined for this Expedition, as by the inclosed State of the Troops, in order that no Disappointment may happen, in proceeding from Louisburg, in case the Season permits, by the River St Lawrence to Quebeck, on, or about, the 7th of May, as directed in the former Part of this letter; And you will not fail to order forthwith, all proper Provision (and particularly fresh Provision as far as may be) to be immediately procured for the Subsistence and Refreshment of the Troops, during the Stay they may happen to make at Cape Breton, the Place appointed for their Rendezvous, and that all the Preparations there and Elsewhere, for this Service, be quicken'd and pressed, with the utmost Diligence - And you will particularly direct, that the Battering Train, and the Stores, of every kind thereunto belonging, (which by your Letter of Augst 28th you informed me, was sent to Halifax, under the Command of Col. Williamson and which, I am now informed, by the Office of Ordnance, has been sent to Boston) be forthwith put into most perfect Repair and Order, for immediate Service, so as that the same may be in readiness to be employed on the Expedition, - against Quebeck, as early as is already pointed out in this Letter; and the necessary additions, to the said Train and Stores, are now preparing, and will shortly be sent from England. You will also direct Colonel Williamson, and the Chief Engineer, to obey all such orders, as he or they shall receive from the Lieut! General & Board of Ordnance with regard to the detaching Part of the Royal Reg! of Artillery, and Engineers on this Expedition, and you are to cause the Battering Train and Stores, together with three Companies of the Royal Regiment of Artillery to be embark'd, in such Manner as you shall judge proper, and sent to Louisburg, so as to be there as near as may be by the 20th of April. Twenty thousand Tons of Transport Vessels are actually preparing here, and will shortly proceed to New

York; to be in readiness to convey the Troops abovementioned to Louisburg, from such Ports, and in such Divisions as you shall judge most expedient for the Service proposed.

But to prevent as far as possible, any Delays & Disappointments happening in this essential Service, from a Deficiency in the Transports to be sent from England - either on account of their late arrival from England, or from any of the same being rendered thro' accidents during their Voyage, unfit, when they arrive, for immediate Service; It is the King's Pleasure, that you do forthwith take up, at such Place or Places, as you shall judge proper in Nº America Six Thousand Tons of Transport Vessels, or any Additional Quantity, that you shall find necessary for the Troops, the Train, the Stores, and the other Requisites, to be employed in the Expedition up the River S! Lawrence, and you will order the said vessels to be fitted and prepared, in every Respect and ready, wherever you shall direct, for the Embarkation of the Troops, the Train, the Stores, and all other Requisites for this Service — And that you may not fail being able timely to procure sufficient Quantity of Transports, I am particularly to recommend it to you, and you are hereby directed to order an Embargo to be laid, as soon as necessary on all ships in the different Ports of the Respective Provinces in Nº America, the Governors of which were directed by my Letter of Sep! 18th (Copy of which was transmitted to you) to comply with any Application from you for this Purpose, And you will direct the said Embargo to continue until such time as all the Transport Vessels, with the Troops, the Train, the Stores, & all the other Requisites for the Expedition against Quebeck, shall be actually sail'd for their Destination; But I am persuaded, you will, of yourself, see the necessity of not mentioning the above Circumstance in your Orders to the Governors to lay such an Embargo; And as it may possibly happen notwithstanding the greatest Care to the Contrary, that all the Transports necessary for conveying the Troops, Train, & Stores, may not be altogether ready so nearly at the same time as is to be wished; I am to signify to you, that it is the King's Pleasure, that you do send the above Forces to

Louisburg (so as that they may be there by the time above directed) in such Divisions as you shall judge proper, without making the whole of this important Service wait, on Account of some Part only of the Troops, destined for the same, not being quite ready; and in that case such remaining Part thereof is to be sent, with all Expedition, as soon after as possible, so as to join the main Body assembled at Cape Breton for the Service before directed. His Majesty is further pleased to empower you, and has commanded me strongly to recommend to you, to keep up, and raise as considerable a Number of Rangers, as may be practicable, for the various Operations of the Campaign; And in particular, that you do not fail to cause a Body of the said Rangers amounting to not less than 600, to be sent with the Forces to Cape Breton for the Expedition to Quebeck, but at the same time, it is His Majesty's Pleasure, that you shall not, on Account of the said Rangers, should they not happen to be ready, detain the Troops from repairing with all Expedition, to their Destination, as directed, and you are to order the said Rangers, when ready, to follow and join the Troops as soon after as possible. I am also to signify to you His Majesty's further Pleasure, that you do forthwith take the proper Steps to engage Colonel Gridley (whom you appointed on the Death of M. Meserve, to command the Carpenters at the Siege of Louisburg) or such other Officer as you shall think proper, to collect the Number of Eighty Carpenters, and to proceed with them, - without loss of time, to Cape Breton, in order that the said Carpenters may be employed under the Command of Colonel Gridley; on such Works as shall be necessary for the Operations of the Troops, in the above Expedition; or in such other Manner, as the Commander in Chief of the Kings Troops on that Expedition shall judge proper; And in case you shall think it expedient, you will endeavour to prevail on M. Gridley, to decline accepting any Command in the Troops of his Province, the ensuing Campaign, in order that his whole time & Attention may be employed on the above most essential Service.

Sloops together with whaleboats will be of the greatest utility to the operation to be undertaken by the Way of the River St Lawrence; It is the King's Pleasure that you do immediately cause a considerable Number of Schooners & Sloops, not less than 40. as far as may be, to be provided in the most expeditious Manner, and held in readiness at New York for the service of the River St Lawrence, and 70 Whaleboats to be built, with the utmost Diligence which Schooners Sloops and Whale Boats are to be sent to Louisburg for the same Service and you will exert every Means in your Power to forward this essential Service, in such manner that the above Number of Schooners, Sloops & Whaleboats may not fail, on any Pretence whatever, to be finished by the 1st of April at the latest, and that they be, in every respect ready, and that they do proceed to Louisburg with the Troops order'd to assemble there; you will see, by the inclos'd copy of my Letter to the Lieut! Governor of New York,1 that he has the strongest Orders to give you all possible Assistance in the Execution of this very necessary Work, and you will accordingly concert with him, the proper Measures for the punctual and full Performance, of the said Service, so as that no Delay or Disappointment may happen therein.

You will observe in the Allotment herewith transmitted to you, of the Forces to be employed against Quebeck, that the 28th Regiment is to be taken from the Garrison of Louisburg; and in order to provide for the Security of that most important Place, during the Absence of the said Regiment, it is the King's Pleasure, that you do employ all proper means in order that a Battalion of the Provincials consisting of not less than 1000 men may in case it be consistent with the Terms of their Enlistments, as well as with their Inclinations, repair to Louisburg & there remain in Garrison, on the express Condition of being relieved, at the End of the Campaign by His Majesty's Regular Forces; And you will also take proper & effectual Measures for the Safety & Defence of the Town of Halifax, and the Province of Nova

¹ See the following letter.

Scotia, during the absence of such Part of the Troops, now there, and which are destined for the Expedition abovementioned. I come now to that Part of the Operations for the ensuing Campaign, in No America, which are to be under your own immediate Direction, and which, from their Importance Difficulty and Extent, as well as from the Correspondence and Intercourse that they will constantly demand with the several Governors, throughout the whole of North America, must necessarily require the Presence of the Officer, on the Continent of America, vested with the Command in Chief of the King's Forces there, by his Commission under the Great Seal; and His Majesty hopes from your distinguished Zeal for the Honor of his Arms and your known Abilities & Experience, that the Execution of a Plan of Operations of such Weight, and formed at such Expence for an Irruption into Canada: will be attended with a happier & more honorable Event than heretofore.

I am therefore to signify to you the King's Pleasure that you do immediately concert the properest Measures for pushing the Operations of the Campaign, with the utmost Vigour, early in the Year, by an Invasion of Canada, with such Part, as you shall judge proper of his Majesty's Troops (not allotted as above for the Expedition against Quebec) in Conjunction with such a numerous Body of the Forces of the Northern Provinces, as you will have seen by the copy of my letter of the 9th inst. to the Governors thereof, it is hoped, will, in consequence of those pressing Orders to that Effect, which are renewed and enforced in the strongest manner by my Letter of this Date (Copy of which I now enclose) be ready to join in this most important service, and to this great End, it is His Majesty's Pleasure that you do attempt an invasion of Canada, by the Way of Crown Point or La Galette, or both, according as you shall judge practicable, and proceed, if practicable, and attack Montreal or Quebec, or both of the said places successively, with such of the Forces as shall remain under your own immediate Direction, in one Body, or at one and the same time, by a Division of the sd Forces into separate & distinct Operations, according as you shall,

from your Knowledge of the Countries, thro' which the War is to be carried, & from emergent Circumstances, not to be known here, judge all or any of the said attempts to be

practicable.

It is also the King's Pleasure that you should give a due Attention to the Lake Ontario and facilitate, as far as possible, consistent with other main Operations of the Campaign, the Re-establishment of the important Port of Oswego,¹ a Place so highly essential to His Majesty's Possessions in North America in time of Peace as well as War; and you will accordingly not fail to concert with the Lieutenant Governor of New York, within whose Province Oswego is situated, all necessary and effectual Measures for re-establishing that Post in the Course of the ensuing Year, and for building a sufficient & proper Fort for the security and Defence thereof, and the inclosed Copy of my Letter to M. De Lancey, will show you that he has similar Orders to concert with, and assist you in the Execution of this very important Service.

It were much to be wished that any Operations on the side of Lake Ontario could be pushed on as far as Niagara, and that you may find it practicable to set on foot some Enterprize against the Fort there, the Success of which would so greatly contribute to establish the uninterrupted Dominion of that Lake, and, at the same time, effectually cut off the Communication between Canada, and the French Settlements to the South; and the Utility and Importance of such an Enterprize against Niagara, is, of itself, so apparent, that

There were, in 1756, three forts at Oswego. The chief of these was Old Oswego or Fort Pepperell, on the west bank of the river. It was poorly constructed, and had but few cannon, one side being entirely undefended. On the same bank was the new fort, called New Oswego, or "Fort Rascal." This was never finished. There were no loopholes in the stockades, and it was practically impossible to defend it. On the opposite side of the river, on a high plateau, was the post known as Fort Ontario, the best constructed of the three. Montcalm burned them all. A plan of the forts is given in Doc Hist. of N.Y., I. 315, and in Winsor, V. 511. No plan of the new fort built by Amherst has been found.

I am persuaded, it is unnecessary to add anything to enforce your giving all proper Attention to the same, as far as the great and main Objects of the Campaign shall permit.

You are already by my letter of the 9th Inst directed to exert your utmost Endeavours to incite & encourage the several Provinces to the full & due Execution of the King's Commands; and the Success of the ensuing decisive Campaign, depends so much on commencing the several Operations as early as shall be practicable, and thereby preventing the last Efforts, there is Reason to suppose the Enemy is preparing to make, to save their Possessions in No America, from total Ruin, that you cannot be too urgent with the Provinces to quicken and expedite the Levies, so as that the said Provincial Troops may be assembled at the Rendezvous, and be, in every respect, ready, in Conjunction with the regular Forces, to open the Campaign by the 1st of May, as nothing can contribute so much to the Success of the Operations to be undertaken in different Parts of No America, and particularly of the Attempt in Quebeck, as putting the Forces early in Motion, on the other Frontiers of Canada, and thereby distracting the Enemy, and obliging them to divide their Strength.

With regard to the Southern Operations, I am to signify to you His Majesty's Pleasure that you do continue Brigadier Gen1 Forbes in that Command, or, if his Health shall not permit him to undertake that Service, that you do appoint such other Officer as you shall think proper to command such Forces as you shall judge proper to leave in the Southern Provinces, and that Brig! Forbes, or such other Officer do proceed, without Loss of time, to Pensylvania, or such other of the Southern Provinces, as shall be thought most expedient in order to concert any Operations, to be undertaken by the said Troops, who, in Conjunction with the Forces, directed by my Letter of the 9th Inst, to the Southern Governors, to be raised in those Provinces, are to be employed under the Command of Brig! Forbes, or such Officer whom you shall appoint as above, on any such offensive Operations as you shall judge most expedient for annoying the Enemy,

and most efficacious towards removing all future Dangers from the Frontiers of any of the Southern Colonies on the Continent of America.

You will have observed by my Letters to the Gov."s that His Majesty has been pleased to promise, that His Commissaries shall issue Provisions to the Men, raised by the several Provinces in the same Proportion & Manner, as is done to the Rest of the King's Forces; I am therefore to signify to you His Majesty's Pleasure that you do give the necessary Directions to all the Commissaries, & other Officers, who may have the charge of the Provisions, to furnish the said Men with the same, in the Proportion and Manner above mentioned. For which Purpose the Contractors have received Directions to have constantly in Store, a sufficient Quantity of Provisions, as well for the Regular National Troops, as for the Provincials, which shall be raised in Consequence of His Majesty's Orders; And it is the King's Pleasure, that you should keep a particular Account of the Same, and that no Provisions should be deliver'd to the Provincial Troops, but in Consequence of an Order from you, or from the Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in those Parts, where the said Provisions may be wanted, And you will, in Case of Necessity, draw Bills for any extraordinary Expences incurred for this Service.

And I am here particularly to recommend it to you, as a principal Means to preserve the Health of the Men, that you do cause them to be furnished with fresh Meat, whenever the Situation & Circumstances of the Troops shall make the same any Ways practicable; and you will take care, that for so long time as fresh Meat shall be provided for the Forces, the inclos'd Clause of the Contract be duely observed on the Part of the Contractors, or their Agents, and that the Delivery of Provisions of Beef and Pork by the Contractors, be accordingly in Part, or in the Whole suspended, and a proportionable Allowance only made for the several other Species, as shall be agreed upon, and certified by you.

Such a considerable Number of Arms and Tents have been already sent to Nº America, that it is hoped, a sufficient

Quantity will be found there for the Service of the next Campaign; I am, however, to acquaint you, that the King has been pleased to order 10,000 Arms, and 6000 Tents to be forthwith sent to New York, for the service in North America, which you will cause to be distributed according as the same shall be necessary.

In my Letter of the 9th Inst. You were directed to refit and build Boats for the Service of the Troops on the Lakes, and I am now to signify to you the King's Pleasure, that you do procure such a Number of Battoe Men, as you shall judge necessary for the Boats attending the Troops, and

Men sufficient for navigating the Vessels.

The King having been pleased to direct that the two Engineers and the Officers to act as Engineers, as mentioned in the inclosed List, should be employed on the Expedition against Quebeck, you will give the necessary Orders for the said Engineers and Officers to repair, in due time, to Louisburg, and to serve accordingly under the Command of Major General Wolfe.

I am &c

W. PITT.

PITT TO LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR DE LANCEY²

WHITEHALL Dec: 29th 1758.

Sir

It having been represented, that a Number of Schooners & Sloops, together with Whale Boats, would be of the greatest Utility to certain Operations which the King has been pleas'd to order to be undertaken the ensuing Campaign up the River St Lawrence, I have accordingly directed Maj! Gen! Amherst immediately to cause a considerable Number of Schooners & Sloops, not less than 40, as far as may be, to be provided in the most expeditious Manner, & held in readiness at New York for the Service of the River S! Lawrence, & Seventy Whale Boats to be built with the utmost

¹ See letter of that date.

diligence, which Schooners, Sloops & Whale Boats are to be sent to Louisbourg on the same Service; ¹ and I am now to signify to you that you do give Gen! Amherst every Assistance in your power, & in Concert with him, that you do exert your utmost Endeavours to forward this essential Service in such Manner that the above Number of Schooners, Sloops & Whale boats, may not, on any pretence whatever, fail of being provided, & built by the Ist of April, at the latest, and that they be in every respect ready to proceed to Louisbourg with the Troops, order'd to assemble there.

I am further to acquaint you, that the King, considering the great Importance of Re-establishing Oswego, a Post so highly essential to His Majesty's Possessions in North America, in time of peace, as well as War, has been pleased to direct Gen! Amherst, to facilitate, as far as possible, consistent with other main Operations of the Campaign, the re establishment of that important Place, in the course of the ensuing year; 2 & to concert with you all necessary & effectual Measures for that purpose, and for building a proper & sufficient Fort, for the Security & Defence thereof; and as the Province under your Command (within whose Limits Oswego is situated) is so particularly interested in this Measure, It is the King's Pleasure, that you do employ all your Influence with your Council & Assembly, to induce them to give every Encouragement and assistance towards the Execution of this work, particularly, by providing the requisite Materials, without loss of time, & ordering a sufficient Number of Workmen, to be ready to proceed thither, at such time as General Amherst shall think the same can be set about with Safety.

I am &ca

W. PITT.

¹ See letter to Amherst of this date.

² See letter to Amherst of December 9, 1758.

PITT TO THE GOVERNORS OF NOVA SCOTIA AND OF LOUISBURG 1

WHITEHALL. Decr 29th 1758.

Sir,

His Majesty having thought proper to allot some of the Troops,* now in your Province, to be employed on a particular Expedition, the next Campaign; I am to signify * To the Governor of to You the King's Pleasure, that you do use the most punctual Diligence in putting in execution Louisbourg the Orders you shall receive from Major Gen! now within your Govern- Amherst, or the Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in North America, with regard to the Disposition of the said Troops; and it is the King's further Pleasure that you do also follow any Directions General Amherst, or the Commander in Chief in North America, shall send you, for making Preparations for the Reception & Accommodation of any Number of Troops within your Government, or for any other Military Service: - I am &c:

W. PITT.

PITT TO ADMIRAL DURELL²

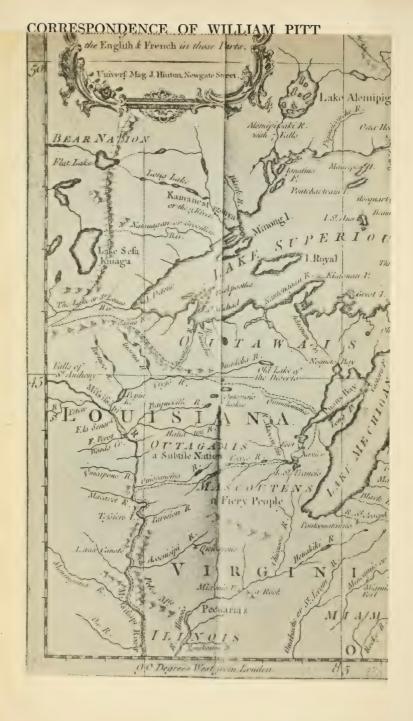
WHITEHALL. Decr: 29th 1758.

Sir,

I am now to inform you, in Confidence, that His Majesty has thought proper to direct a considerable Number of His Land Forces to be employed, as early in the Year as possible, on an Expedition up the River S! Lawrence, for the Attack of Quebec; and in order effectually to prevent, and cut off from Quebec, all Succours of Troops and Provisions, from Europe, by the River S! Lawrence; & at the same time to facilitate, by all means, the Success of so very important, and

¹ A. and W. I., vol. 76. These were brigadier-general Monckton and brigadier-general Whitmore.

² A. and W. I., vol. 76. See note to letter of January 9, 1758.



decisive an Operation; I am to signify to you the King's Pleasure, that you do forthwith use the utmost Diligence in repairing, and refitting, all the Ships, under your Command, so as that the same may be, in every respect, ready for actual Service, as early in the Year as possible; And as soon as ever the Navigation of the Gulph and River St Lawrence shall be practicable, It is His Majesty's Pleasure, that you do repair with the Squadron, under your Command, to the River S! Lawrence, and that you do establish your Cruize, as high up the said River as the Isle de Bic,1 where you are to station your Ships in such a manner, as may most effectually prevent any Succours whatever passing up that River to Quebec; and you are to remain in the Station abovementioned, till you shall receive further Orders from Admiral Saunders,2 who is appointed Commander in Chief of the King's Ships in North America, and who will soon proceed to those Parts to take upon Him the said Command. - I am further to acquaint You, that, It being the King's Pleasure, that some of the Ships of Admiral Saunders's Squadron (already forward in their Preparations) which shall be the earliest ready, should very shortly sail for North America, You may expect the Arrival of not less than Four Ships of the Line at I am &c:-Halifax, by the month of April.

W. PITT.

Off the mouth of the Saguenay river.

² See note to letter of January 9, 1759.









